

1998 GUIDE FOR JOURNALISTS

IN

BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

NOTE TO OUR READERS

Journalists do not, in general, like receiving 'predigested' information. Although aware of this risk, we are offering third edition of this booklet. (First booklet Guide '96 has been printed out for Elections 1996). Our aim is to give you concrete information which you can really use, not polemics. Of course, by this time many of our foreign colleagues know Bosnia well. But this is a very complex country, and some clarification that might be unnecessary under more normal circumstances seemed in order.

This booklet does not attempt to attack preconceptions or to change opinions about Bosnia. But after you page through it, you will hopefully gather new facts and information to add to your personal archives. We will be glad if it helps you carry out your work in Bosnia better and more efficiently.

The authors of this booklet faced great many problems. Information for the whole country, not only for both entities but also for all parts of the Bosnian Federation, can no longer be obtained from a single source. Information from several sources often proves contradictory, and data may have been produced according to differing methodologies. Other information is kept secret by the authorities. Still, all three booklets are attempt by local writers to put together relevant facts about both entities in the form of a guide.

Finally, MEDIA PLAN wishes you successful work in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We hope you consider these pages an introduction to our larger work, which is to help rebuild and improve the Bosnian media. We are always ready to meet new contacts, and hope that some of our readers will be in touch.

Zoran Udovičić

MEDIA PLAN President

Sarajevo, August 98

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA – AS IT WAS.

General Data

Bosnia –Herzegovina is 51,197 km² in area, borders on Croatia, Serbia and Montenegro, and has a coastline of 24.5 kilometers on the Adriatic Sea. Before the war, the country was divided into 109 ‘municipalities’, with its capital in Sarajevo. Other municipalities which had, like Sarajevo municipality, more than 100,000 inhabitants were Banja Luka, Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar, Doboј and Prijedor.

According to the 1991 census, the population of Bosnia was 4,377.033 of these, 1,902.956 (43,48%) were Bosniak (Bosnian Muslim), 1,366,104 (31.21%) Serb and 760,852 (17,38%) Croats. An additional 242, 682 people (5,54%) declared themselves Yugoslav, while the remaining 104,439 (2,39%) were of 25 other nationalities. Average population density was 84,4 people per square kilometers, and the population was equally balanced between males and females. There were 1,203,441 households, making an average of 3,62 people per household. More than 70 percent of the population was under 40 years of age. Most of the working –age population was employed in industry, mining, agriculture, engineering, traffic and communications. Before the war, 1,304,868 housing units and 569,581 farms were registered in Bosnia.

This demographic picture changed completely during the war.

Language

Before the war, the standard language of Bosnia was a “ijekavian” dialect of Serbo-Croat. The Latin and Cyrillic alphabets were used equally. After the war, the different national groups have tried to define separate languages: Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian. The Latin alphabet is used in the Bosnian Federation and Cyrillic alphabet in the Serb Republic.

Name

The name Bosnia –Herzegovina refers to two individual historical and political territories. The names are of different origins and ages. It is believed that the name Bosnia derives from a river of the same name that has its source near Sarajevo. The name Herzegovina is much younger and comes from the title held by Herceg /””Lord””) Stjepan Vukčić Kosača (1435 – 1466)

Natural features

Most of Bosnia is mountainous. The southern part of the Panonic depression extends to the north. Toward the south Dinaric Alps rise in waves to over 2,000 meters above sea- level before they fall off towards the Adriatic Sea. The highest mountain is Maglic at 2,386 meters. The country’s average height above the sea level is 693 meters. Its climate is moderately continental in northern Bosnia, sub-mountainous and mountainous in higher regions, and Mediterranean in the lower basin of the Neretva River.

Bosnia-Herzegovina is divided between the watersheds of the Black and Adriatic seas. The largest number of rivers belongs to the Black Sea, or the Danube, watersheds. Mountain rivers of great hydro-electric potential flow into the River Sava, which forms the country’s northern

border, into the river Drina, which divides Bosnia from Serbia in the east, and into the Bosna, the Vrbas and Una rivers in the middle of the country. The Neretva belongs to the Adriatic watershed, as do the Trebišnjica, Zalomka and other rivers. The watershed of the Drina encompasses 19,570 km², of which 7,200 km² belong to Bosnia. The whole watershed of the River Bosna, or 10,460 km², lies within Bosnia.

A number of lakes are tourist attractions: the Pliva Lakes near Jajce, Lake Boračko near Konjic, the Zelengora lakes and the Glečer lakes on Mt. Treskavica. There are also large artificial lakes: Boračko, Bilečko, Jablaničko, Peručko and others. Bosnia also abounds in mineral waters, some of which are radioactive.

Almost half of Bosnian territory (/46,6%) is forested. Of this, 65% is deciduous and 35% coniferous. With 3,500 different plant species alone, Bosnia has a wealth of flora and fauna. The Perućica forest near Foča (Srbinje — RS) is said to be the largest primeval forest left in Europe. Bosnia also has two national parks: Kozara, on a mountain of the same name in northwestern Bosnia, and Sutjeska, in southeastern Bosnia.

Economy

Bosnia's economy depends largely on industry and agriculture. The country also has abundant forest, water and mineral resources. Most of the pre-war gross domestic product came from industry, followed by mining, agriculture, civil engineering, transport and communications, trade, and catering and tourism. A strong base of heavy industry and energy production was built up after World War II. Bosnia has coal reserves of 3,8 billion tons and a potential hydropower output of 17 billion kW. (The river Drina and its tributaries have the greatest potential: 15,1 billion kW). Coal-burning plants in Tuzla, Kakanj, Gacko and other places produced most electricity. Besides coal, iron ore was mined in the Vareš and Ljubija basins; bauxite and lead-zinc ore near Srebrenica, and chromium, asbestos ore and rock salt near Tuzla.

Industry

Before the war Bosnia had iron and steelworks in Zenica, Ilijaš and Vareš. Aluminum was produced in Mostar, aluminum and ferrous alloys in Jajce. Crude oil was refined in Bosanski Brod and motor oil in Modriča. Sarajevo was a center for metal —working and machine-making. Engines were manufactured in Hrasnica, car and ball-bearings in Vogošća, planes and helicopter in Mostar, agricultural machines in Tuzla, tractors in Novi Travnik, electrical products in Banja Luka, chemicals in Lukavac and Goražde, and pharmaceuticals in Sarajevo. There was an electro-chemical industry in Jajce and wood-processing in Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Doboj, Zavidovići and Drvar. Cellulose and paper were produced in Banja Luka, Livno and Bileća; leather and footwear in Sarajevo, Derventa, Visoko and Bugojno; tobacco products in Mostar, Banja Luka and Sarajevo. Handcrafts were also an important industry.

Agriculture

A total of 2,567,000 hectares is devoted to agriculture in Bosnia. Of this, 1,060,000 ha are tilled, 89,000 ha are in orchards and 942,000 ha are in pasture.

Traffic

The most important railway lines were Šamac-Sarajevi-Mostar-Ploče, Bosanski Brod-Banja Luka-Doboj-Tuzla and Brčko-Tuzla. Bosnia had 16,869 km of roads, of which 8,121-km were paved. The main river ports were at Novi Brod and at mouth of the Neretva River.

History

The Illyrians were the oldest known inhabitants of Bosnia. They were the first to form large tribal communities. Later they waged long battles against the Romans, who finally conquered them (circa AD), and annexed the territory of today's Bosnia to Roman province of Dalmatia. The Romans opened mines and exploited the region's mineral wealth. In time, some of the Illyrians became romanized. After the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, Bosnian territory changed rulers several times. After the emperor Odoakar came the Ostrogoths, then the Byzantine empire, which ruled the region until the arrival of the Slavs. By the mid-seventh century, Slavs were main inhabitants of the territory that would become Bosnia.

Bosnia is first mentioned in records from the middle of the ninth century. Porfirogenitus (10th century) mentions a large number of inhabited regions in Trebinje and Zahumlje. During the time of Duke Česlav, Bosnia was part of Raška (a mediaeval kingdom covering most of Serbia and Montenegro). It emerged as a separate entity after his death in 960. The Dukljan Chronicle mentions Bosnia in the same context as Raška and Croatia. The whole 12th century was marked by battles to establish and maintain the independence of this state.

The first known Bosnian "ban", or governor, was Borić (c.1154-63). A Hungarian vassal, he fought against Byzantium, which conquered Bosnia in 1167 and held it until the death of Manojlo Komnin in 1180. During the reign of Kulin Ban, Bosnia was already an well-organized state. Kulin Ban controlled all the territory in the upper watershed of the Bosnia River. The 14th century saw Bosnia emerge as an important player in this part of the Balkans. During the reign of King Tvrtko I it became the strongest power among the southern Slavic states. The medieval state of Bosnia encompassed Raška, Dalmatia Croatia and Primorje. During this period Bosnia and Herzegovina were united for the first time.

Medieval Bosnia is through by some scholars to have been involved in the so-called Bogomillian heresy. News of these or similar teachings, supposed to have been accepted by Kulin Ban himself, was first heard in Bosnia in 1199 (recant scholars argue that the Bosnian Church was not Bogomilian, but agree that it was a distinctive church, separate from Rome).

Resistance to the Roman Catholic Church from the 12th to the 14th century reflected not only religious, but also political differences. Many old monuments survived from mediaeval Bosnia, including a distinctive kind of tombstone, known as a stecak. The stecaks are most visible reminder of medieval Bosnian culture, and their development coincides geographically and chronologically with the medieval Bosnian state.

Four alphabets were used in medieval Bosnia and Hum (the old name for Herzegovina): Greek, Latin, Glagolitic and Cyrillic. Glagolitic was characteristic of medieval Bosnia. The oldest Glagolitic manuscript, believed to have originated in Bosnia, is the Marijan Gospel from the 10th century. Among Cyrillic manuscripts of this kind, the oldest is the Miroslav Gospel, dating from the 12th century.

Ottoman Turks first invaded Bosnia in 1388. The Turkish Sultan Mehmed II conquered Bosnia in 1463 and executed the last Bosnia king, King Stjepan Tomašević. Exerting their

control over all Bosnia took the Ottomans a considerable length of time. In the 15th century, the Ottomans divided Bosnia into the Bosnian, Herzegovinan and Zvornik “sandzaks”, or territories. They added other sandzaks as they captured new lands. In the sandzaks and stretched from Šabac to the Adriatic sea and across southern Slavonia. It lasted until the end of the 17th century. The Ottoman Empire established a feudal system in its conquered lands.

The ethnic makeup of Bosnia, except for migrations during war or after large epidemics, did not change significantly. The population was heterogeneous with respect to religion, encompassing members of the Orthodox, Catholic and Bosnian churches (although the Bosnia Church was already in decline). People of all religions, however, converted to Islam, influenced to a large extent by the Ottoman agrarian and taxation systems, which favoured those of Islamic faith. But, there were no forced conversions.

The Ottoman conquest began a long period of wars, rebellions and uprisings. A complex social and economic picture emerged. People of the same ethnic background and language became divided by religion: Islam, Orthodox Christianity and Roman Catholicism. In the 19th century these religious affiliations became the basis of national categories: Muslims, Serbs and Croats. These identifiers also represented three different cultural legacies. The Muslims inherited Turkish –Islamic culture, although with significant and creative changes. The Serbs remained in contact with Byzantine and Church-Slavic traditions, while the Croats inherited Christian traditions from the West. The exodus of Jews and Arabs from Spain and Portugal in 1492 and 1496 added a fourth element to the mix of Bosnian culture: the Sephardic-Jewish legacy.

In the late 19th century, widespread fighting broke out in Bosnia, speeding the end of Ottoman rule. At the Berlin Congress of 1878, the Austro-Hungarian Empire received a 30-year mandate to rule Bosnia-Herzegovina. The mandate met with resistance, particularly from the Muslim population, which had fared best under Ottoman rule. The Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia lasted from 1878-1918. Although part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Bosnia remained formally under the Sultan’s sovereignty until the annexation of 1908. The annexation crisis culminated with Gavrilo Princip’s assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, Franz Ferdinand, in Sarajevo in 1914. The assassination helped set off World War I.

With the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, Bosnia-Herzegovina became part of a new Slavic state called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. A territorial government was formed that answered to the central government in Belgrade. With the St. Vitus Constitutions of 1921, a new administrative organization was imposed on Bosnia that undermined its historic and political unity. In 1939, an agreement between Belgrade and Zagreb politicians (Cvetković-Maček) led to the creation of the Croatian Banat. The Banate encompassed 13 Bosnian-Herzegovinian districts and strained national tensions in Bosnia.

During World War II Bosnia became part of the quisling Independent State of Croatia, under Italian and German dictatorships. An uprising led by Tito’s Partisans swept back and forth over the entire Bosnian territory. The region was the site of the biggest battles and German offensives. The inaugural session of Bosnia’s first multi-national parliament was held on 25 November 1943 in Mrkonjić Grad. It affirmed the unity of Bosnian people and demanded equal status for Bosnia within the federation of post-war Yugoslav.

The second Yugoslavia was declared by a national parliament in Jajce on 29 November 1943. The country went by several different names after that, but the longest in use was ‘Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.’ Bosnia was one of six republics in Yugoslavia. The other five were Serbia (with the autonomous provinces Kosovo and Vojvodina), Croatia, Montenegro, Slovenia and Macedonia.

A Communist regime along Soviet lines was established initially. But in 1948 Tito Broke with Stalin, which Yugoslavia enjoyed a more or less independent position in the world. In domestic affairs it became known for its experiments in socialist self-rule; in foreign affairs it was one of the founders of the Non-Aligned movement.

Muslims (today called Bosniaks) were finally recognized as a distinct nationality in the new Yugoslavia in the 1970s /Until then they had to declare themselves as Serbs, Croats or “undecided”).

The breakup of Yugoslavia coincided with the collapse of Communism. In the face of widespread democratic aspirations, the first multi-party elections in Yugoslavia were called in 1990. These elections took place while nationalist feelings were producing movements to create separate nation states. The elections in Bosnia in December 1990 brought three nationalist parties into power; the (mostly Bosnjak) Democratic Action Party (SDA), the Croat Democratic Union (HDZ) and the Serb Democratic Party (SDS).

In June of 1991., Slovenia and Croatia proclaimed their independence from Yugoslavia. War promptly broke out in both these countries, one of the key participants being the Yugoslav People’s Army (JNA), under the command of the Serb leadership in Belgrade.

On 14 October 1991. the Bosnian Assembly adopted its own declaration of independence. Serb deputies (SDS members) voted against it. A referendum was held on 1 March 1992, in which the majority of the people of Bosnia voted overwhelmingly in favor of independence. Serbs boycotted the referendum and called for Bosnia to remain within Yugoslavia. The European Union recognized Bosnia’s independence on 6 April.

That was the first day of war. Bosnian Serbs, led by Radovan Karadžić and assisted by the Yugoslav Army and paramilitary units from Serbia, launched a campaign to take over large parts of Bosnia. In mid 1993 a separate conflict broke out between Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats. An agreement in Washington brought an uneasy peace between two former allies and created the Bosnian Federation, one of the country’s two future entities.

The war seemed to have left two options for the future of Bosnia. One was the preservation of Bosnia as a single, multi-ethnic and sovereign state. The other was division along ethnic lines. After long negotiations, the parties agreed to a peace plan that seemed to endorse the former. The agreement was reached in Dayton on 21 November 1995 and signed 14 December 1995 in Paris. The peace agreement stopped fighting and called for the establishment of new state structures in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Bosnia would consist of two separate entities: the Federation B&H and the Serb Republic. The Dayton Agreement gave 51,4 percent of Bosnia’s territory to the Federation and 48,6 to the Serb Republic.

The future of one city had no positive solution under the Dayton Agreement: Brčko, whose destiny is to be resolved by an arbitration commission, which has until march 1999 to decide to which entity the city belongs.

The first general elections, post –war, according to the terms of the Dayton Agreement, were held in September 1996. These decided which representatives of three nationalists would form the joint governing bodies of state of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Presidency and the Council of Ministers.

SOME CITIES IN FOCUS

SARAJEVO

Sarajevo is both the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its economic and cultural center. The city lies 520-700 meters above sea level in the valley of the Miljacka River, a tributary of

the Bosna, between Mt. Trebevic, Mt. Hum and Mt. Igman. It has a moderately continental climate with frequent temperature changes.

The 10 pre-war municipalities that make up Sarajevo and its suburbs cover, 2,049 km². The five urban municipalities are the Old Town, the center, New Sarajevo, New Town and Ilidža. Their united area is 417 km². The five suburban municipalities are Vogošća, Ilijaš, Pale, Trnovo and Hadžići.

According to the 1991. census, Sarajevo had a population of 527,049. Of these, 49,2% were Bosniak (Muslim), 29,5% Serb, 6,6% Croat, 10,7% Yugoslav and 3,9% other.

Before the war Sarajevo was the most highly developed industrial city in Bosnia. Its industries produced cars, metal frameworks, tools, electrical installations and equipment, transformer stations and air-conditioners. It had chemical, pharmaceutical, cosmetic, textile and food industries. It produced leather products and shoes, furniture, construction materials, tobacco products and handcrafts. It was an important railway and automobile junction between the Panonic Basin and the Adriatic Sea, and had an international airport.

Sarajevo is also richly endowed with natural resources: the river Bosna, which springs from the earth at the foot of Mt. Igman, is one of the country's treasures.

Despite great destruction, Sarajevo remains the cultural and educational center of Bosnia. It has a university that was founded in 1949, with 19 faculties. It has three art academies and five further-education schools; an Academy of Arts and Sciences (founded in 1966); at least 80 high and elementary schools; 12 museums; four theaters; four publishing houses; many libraries and art galleries; more than 50 newspapers and magazines; 195 radio and television stations; and four news agencies. The city has a modern university medical center and other health institutions, and a spa in Ilidža.

Many of its sports facilities cannot be used, including several built for the 1984 Winter Olympics and on the surrounding mountains of Trebević, Igman, Jahorina and Bjelašnica.

Sarajevo's history is long and multi-layered. The first settlements in the area date to Neolithic times. The area remained settled throughout the time of Illyricum, the Roman Empire and the emergence of an independent Bosnia in the Middle Ages. With the arrival of the Turks, a new settlement was founded that quickly grew into a town. This was Sarajevo, whose name derives from the Turkish words "Saraj-ovas," or "field around the ruler's palace." It gained status in 1457 through the endowments of Isabey Ihsaković.

In the 16th century the city boomed. It became one of the most important trading centers in the Balkans. Permanently linked to the city's development is the name Gazi Husrefbey, one of the Turkish Sultan's regents for the Bosnia sandžak. The oldest library in the city, built in 1537, bears his name.

Austro-Hungarian rule (1878-1918) put its own stamp on the city. The city was the first in Europe to have a tram as public transport. The Austrians also built an important library, palace, covered market, and several other key buildings. The assassination in Sarajevo of Archduke Ferdinand by Gavrilo Princip on 27 June 1914. marked the beginning of World War I. Sarajevo's greatest cultural and historical attraction is Baščaršija. The spirit of Ottoman Sarajevo survives here, in the heart of the old town. Here is Gazi Husrefbey's Mosque, 1931, the largest institution of Islamic culture in this part of the world. Also in Baščaršija are Ali Pasha's Mosque (1561); the Sultan's Mosque (1566), the Kuršumlija Madrasah (Islamic school), the Bezistan Mosque; a clock-tower; bath-houses, the Morića Han inn; an old Jewish synagogue and Orthodox Church - all of which date from the 15th and 16th centuries.

Under Austro-Hungarian rule the city expanded well beyond Ottoman Sarajevo. By building a Catholic cathedral in 1889, the Habsburgs brought Sarajevo's four major religions into a close relationship. The Ferhadija Mosque, the old Jewish synagogue and the Orthodox cathedral are located in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral. The proximity of these places of worship symbolizes the common heritage and co-existence of Bosniaks, Serbs, Croats, Jews and other peoples over the centuries.

The National Museum, founded in 1888 during Austro-Hungarian rule, is one of the oldest scientific institutions in the Balkans. A collection of 2,500 items traces Bosnia's past of upheaval and conquest. It includes the famous Haggada, a sacred Jewish scroll of Spanish origin dating from the 13th or 14th century. (The National Museum is now the seat of the joint governing bodies of BiH - the Presidency, the Council of Ministers, and the Parliament).

The most recent war in Sarajevo started on April 6 1992, a day which marks the anniversary of the city's liberation from German occupation in 1945. The devastation in the city had not been so great since the Austrian military leader Prince Eugene of Savoy burned the city in 1697. The Bosnian Serb army held the city under siege for 1,300 days, or three and a half years.

The Serb army occupied a large portion of the city: the central municipalities of Grbavica and Ilidža, as well as the outlying municipalities of Pale, Ilijaš, Vogošća, Trnovo and Hadžići. (Under the terms of the Dayton Agreement, Trnovo and Pale are still Serb territory, together with parts of the municipalities of the Old Town, the New Town, and New Sarajevo.)

Sarajevo's only link with the world during most of the war was a narrow tunnel dug under the airport runway. The Serbs fired more than a million shells at the city. They destroyed or damaged factories and businesses; residential districts; scientific and cultural institutions, including the Town Hall; the Oriental Museum; the Parliament and Government buildings; the main PPT building; the railway station; and the Zetra sports hall (built specially for the 1984 Winter Olympic Games held in Sarajevo). But in spite of the siege, Sarajevo held on to its own unique style and life. Many cultural institutions, schools and faculties continued working.

The war transformed the population. No exact data is available, but it is believed that more than 100,000 people left the city, most of them Serbs, but also many Croats and Bosniaks. New residents took their place, mainly Bosniaks who fled or were expelled from eastern Bosnia. The Sarajevo Declaration foresees that 20,000 Serbs and Croats should return to the city by the end of 1998.

In Sarajevo, in the part of the city which was under siege, 10,000 civilians were killed, or whom 1,700 were children.

The Dayton Agreement made Sarajevo the seat of a canton of the same name. It remains the capital of the BiH Federation and Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Sarajevo Canton encompasses, in addition to the city area, also surrounding suburban areas. The City of Sarajevo is made up of four city municipalities (Stari grad, Centar, Novo Sarajevo and Novi grad). The first post-war mayor of Sarajevo was named in 1998.

BANJALUKA

Banjaluka is next to Sarajevo the biggest city in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is recently proclaimed the capital of Republika Srpska (RS). As administrative, political, economic, industrial, financial, cultural, and sports center, Banjaluka is also the main town of the Bosnian Krajina region. The city lies in the river Vrbas fertile valley, 170 metres above sea level, and has a temperate continental climate.

According to the 1991 census, 195.692 residents lived in the city, of whom 49,2% were Serbs, 19,4% were Bosniaks, 11% Croats, 14% 'Yugoslavs', and the remaining 4,7% other.

Mention of Banjaluka appears for the first time in written records in 1449. The Turkish rule set its own special seal on the city's development by converting a fortress into a flourishing city with its own trade, crafts and administrative functions. The creation of the Vakuf (a name

given to an administrative district in the Turkish Empire) of Banjaluka is the most significant stage in its development.

In charge of the Vakuf were the Vakufi . Two of these Bosnian deputies, Sofi Mehmed Pasha, and Ferhad Pasha Sokolovic, in the 16th and 17th centuries, under Turkish rule, built a fortress named Kastel on the river Vrbas, a mosque called the Ferhad Pashina Mosque, the Arnaudija Mosque, the Sahat clock tower, and a covered market. These through the centuries have stood as signs and symbols of the city, and were historical monuments of the UNESCO Zero Category.

The period of Austro Hungarian rule (1878-1914) was characterised, for Banjaluka, by territorial expansion, infrastructural development, and the establishment of a traffic network in the West suburbs of the town.

Between the two World Wars the town did not grow any further in size, but developed as a center of Vrbas Banovinate - one of the administrative districts of the first Yugoslavia. It acquired 2 significant buildings, which made it the most significant administrative and cultural centre of the region: the Banovinate government building, and the Bosnian Royal Residence. The Hipotek Bank (Mortgage House) and the City Theatre, the Vakufi's palace, and the so-called Gospodarska street, which is the marketing center of the town, also acquired prominence at this period.

The Krajina Beauty, as Banjaluka used to be called, as the city with the greenest center, after the Second World War acquired big economic, cultural, and demographic wealth. In spite of catastrophic earthquake which hit Banjaluka in 1969, between 1969 and 1971 alone a further 20.000 inhabitants moved into Banjaluka. The reason was the strong development of the mechanic industry, the cellulose and paper industry, and the custom-built electro-industry. With 33% employment, a strong university, and a range of cultural contacts, this was one of the most developed cities in B&H.

Banjaluka in the most recent war escaped the military action, but even so, because of at that time the extreme politics of the Serb government (so-called ethnic cleansing) , some about 60.000 of the non-Serb residents left their pre-war homes. In May 1993 all historic and religious monuments to Islamic culture in Banja Luka were totally erased. In just two nights 17 mosques and the Sahat clock tower were blown up.

A similar fate befell the Catholic churches and monasteries in most of the city. This town which was always known for its tolerance and multi-ethnicity culture has been almost totally ethnically cleansed. Barely 6.000 Bosniaks and Croats withstood the wave of ethnic cleansing.

According to the most recent data of the Economic Institute, there are now 195,139 citizens, approx. 75,000 of whom are displaced persons and refugees - Serbs from the Republic of Croatia and the West Krajina areas which are now part of the Federation. The industry is working at about 20 % of its pre-war employment capacity.

After the signing of Dayton Peace Agreement, despite in reduced form, but political and cultural pluralism revived. Majority of opposition parties in the RS have their headquarters in the city, and here the first RS independent Radio-Television stations and news-papers were founded.

Thanks to actual and moderate government, political situation in the RS is improving day after day.

MOSTAR

Mostar is the industrial and cultural centre of Herzegovina (11.402 square kilometers), set in the valley of the Neretva (inside the city is tributary Radobolja) at the foot of Mount Velež. Its height above sea level - 59 meters - ensures a fiercely hot summer.

According to the 1991 census, in the area covered by Mostar municipality were 126 628 residents. 34,63% were Bosniaks (Muslims), 33,99% were Croats, 18,83% were Serbs, 10,8%

Yugoslavs, and 2,46% other. The city was deeply multicultural - and analogue of pre-war Bosnia as a whole.

Mostar had a flourishing aluminum industry, an air-conditioning plant, textile and tobacco industries, and agricultural and energy resources (the city's important hydroelectric plant). It possessed its own airport, and was an important centre of heavy and light traffic between central Bosnia and the Adriatic coast.

On the eve of the war a large number of cultural and educational institutions were in function: the 'Džemal Bijedić' university with its five faculties, the National Library (1945), the regional Museum, the Archives, the Institute for the protection of cultural monuments, the First Literary Commune, the magazine 'Most' ('Bridge'), the weekly paper 'Sloboda', Radio Mostar, and a great deal more.

The city got its name from the bridges which span the Neretva. The first written record dates from 1452, and mentions 2 clock towers and a high wooden bridge. The growth of Mostar began with the arrival of the Turks. The city's symbol and most famous possession is the Old Bridge, 1556. According to tradition its construction was ordered by the sultan Sulejman the Great. The architect was Hajrudin Mlađi, a pupil of the Turkish architect Sinan. The bridge spanned the Neretva in a single arch, 28.80 metres long and 18.80 metres high.

Near Mostar, in Blagaj, is the best-preserved fortress in Herzegovina - the home of the former ruler Herceg Stjepan. At the foot of the hill on which the castle stands, runs the river Buna, one of the biggest source rivers in Europe.

Mostar is a city of wooden and stone architecture, with oriental, central European and Austrian styles all flourishing together. In the central area is the old market, Kujundžuluk, a name which means 'Jewellers' Quater'. The oldest mosque was built in 1475, and the biggest is the Karadžozbegova mosque, 1555, which is the largest and arguably the most beautiful place of prayer in all Herzegovina. Around the mosque was built Mostar's oldest library, 1570, and oldest Islamic school (1570). The Franciscan monastery of St. Mary was built in Mostar around 1553.

With the relaxing of the religious situation, in 1833, an Orthodox church was built, part of which is below ground, and four decades later one of the loveliest Orthodox churches in B&H was built. Mostar is the seat of the Herzegovinan Roman Catholic bishop; the Cathedral church was built in 1873, and in 1980 the City Cathedral.

In honour of those who died defending Mostar in World War Two, a memorial graveyard was built, a unique piece of memorial architecture by sculptor Bogdan Bogdanović.

In the Turkish period a number of Islamic primary schools and secondary schools were scattered throughout the city. In the middle of the 19th century a Franciscan school for boys was founded, and then the first Orthodox school, and then a girls' school. Under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, few important communal or cultural buildings were erected, with the exception of the Mostar Grammar School (1893), the second in B&H, which could be attended by students from all religious backgrounds.

The cultural life of the city was always based on the social vitality produced by the proximity of the Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs. The oldest Mostar poets wrote in oriental languages, whatever their origins. In the second half of the 19th century Mostar became a printing and literary centre. The first printing press was set up by Don Franjo Miličević 1872, beside the Bishop's residence in Vukodola. Among the output of the printing institute 'Paher and Kisić' was the 'Little Library', the most important cultural press in B&H. The literary magazine 'Zora', 1896, printed in Cyrillic, was edited by the best-known of Mostar's poets, Aleksa Šantić.

Mostar stands out among cities which suffered the worst damage in this war (especially the East side of the city). The city suffered the most in the conflict between the Bosniaks and Croats. Around 70% of living accommodation was destroyed, together with a huge number of religious, cultural and industrial structures. The Croat Military Council (the HVO) deliberately destroyed the famous old bridge.

Mostar became politically divided: the eastern part is held by Bosniaks, the Western by Croats. Only a small number of Serbs are left in the city. The social structure is radically altered: partly by the huge number of refugees (mainly from Croat-cleansed towns such as Stolac). In June 1994, the European Union took charge of Mostar, under the leadership of Hans Koshnik. After the expiry of the EU mandate, in December 1996, the regional office of the High Representative was opened. The first post-war local elections were held in Mostar in 1996, and city bodies of governance were elected. Pursuant to the Rome Agreement, Mostar was constituted as a city with six city municipalities (three with a Croat majority and three with a Bosniak majority) and a central district.

The European Union has invested a large amount of funds in reconstruction. In the eastern part of the city, a foundation called Stari grad (Old Mostar) has been established, presided over by BiH Presidency chairman Alija Izetbegović. Its task is reconstructing the old part of the city, with the help of friends and sponsors from all around the world.

TUZLA

From the time of its founding to the present day, Tuzla has been famous for three things: salt, political alternatives, and multiculturalism. The city's name itself "tuzla" is derived from Turkish word meaning salt. The expression 'in the Tuzla way' became famous in this war, but it is rooted in tradition. In Bosnia, where everything has altered, Tuzla has succeeded in keeping its essentially Bosnian spirit and its own special traditions.

The geographic position of Tuzla and the region of which it is the center, is exceptionally important. It lies in North-East B&H, near two geographic and cultural boundaries – the rivers of the Drina and the Sava, which throughout the past and still today, have imposed limits on cultural and political ambitions. Here Mount Majeveca guards the lower regions of Podrinje and Posavina.

This is an area which has been noted through history for its independent politics. Two historic examples illustrate this. The first is a favorite story: of the uprising by Bosnian war leader Husein Kapetan Gradiscevic, in the first half of the nineteenth century. This was the most significant act of resistance to the Turkish empire ever to take place here: the goal was the independence of Bosnia. To understand the Tuzla of today it should be remembered that under Husein-Kapetan's flag Bosniaks, Serbs and Croats fought side by side.

The second story is from the Second World War: the Bosniaks of Tuzla came out in direct protest against the chief of the NDH (the 'Independent State of Croatia'- Nazi puppet state), Ante Pavelic, to protect Serb fellow citizens (and succeeded).

The region around Tuzla has enormous industrial potential, based on mineral wealth. Here are located the biggest sources of cooking salt in Europe. On this is founded a well-developed and varied chemical industry. The surface coal mines offer a thermoelectric capacity of 800 MGW. Third is the wood industry.

The basic characteristic of Tuzla's industry is its production of raw materials which are naturally present, with simultaneous production of highly-processed and artificial materials. This is the so-called 'dirty industry' which damaged and degraded natural sources, and at the same time fell into lower and lower profit. A special problem is land-slippage due to the erosion of the soil. In this century Tuzla has 'subsided' in places, up to as much as 12 metres.

In this way many of the town's most characteristic buildings have been lost, in particular from the Austrian and Turkish period. Certain key examples of Tuzla architecture, however, have been saved by buttressing their foundations. This is the case with the Orthodox church in the center of the city. The church is interesting for another reason: during the intensive

bombardment of Tuzla (1992 and 1993), the Serb army from their surrounding positions damaged this church, as well as a lot of other buildings. The municipal government decided to reconstruct the damaged cupola.

The current problem of Tuzla's industry is the uncooperative behavior of its company owners (who dominate the cantonal government), the disappearance of capital, and the blockade of heavy transport. Tuzla today is struggling.

Tuzla is the central seat of its canton, which contains a further 14 municipalities. Before the war, in Tuzla's municipality, lived around 1,3 million residents, with the following ethnic profile: 47,61% Bosniaks, 15,40% Serbs, 15,5% Croats, 16,7% of those who preferred to be called 'Yugoslavs', and 4,78% other. The demographic picture changed in the war, but there are no precise statistics. It is estimated that around 20.000 residents of all nationalities left, but especially Serb, and that around 60, 000 refugees, mainly Bosniaks from Podrinje, moved in. But the demographic changes have not significantly affected the multi-cultural Tuzla spirit.

On a political level Tuzla is a Bosnian speciality. In the 1990 elections the parties with left /civic orientation won (the Social – Democratic Party of B-H (SDP) and Union of B-H Social Democrats (UBSD), which recently changed its name into Social Democrats of B-H, and the Liberals). Tuzla is still the only city where the nationalist parties, which are in power at the state/cantonal level (even in Tuzla – Podrinje Canton), are in the opposition at the city level.

Tuzla is the cultural center of the most thickly populated region of Bosnia, with around 700.000 residents. It has a thirty-year old university divided into five faculties, two museums, two theatres (one of which, built in 1989, is the first public theatre ever to be built in Bosnia). The region is covered by several independent newspapers, radio and TV stations.

Its two art galleries contain a selection of work of European-level art (Ismet Mujezinovic is the most important name). The chief figure of Bosnian literature, Mesa Selimovic, was born here, and gave his name to the grammar school which he helped found.

BRCKO

Before the war started, Brcko was the industrial, cultural and sports center of Posavina (the Sava river basin). It was proud of having around 87 000 residents employed in its light industries. Outside the local frame, this city was known for the oil factory "Bimal", the textile factory "Interplet", and for Fahreta Jahic, alias Lepa Brena who built a successful career in folk music (The Balkan answer to Madonna). Before the beginning of the conflicts in Brcko, 160 000 workers were employed. Today the figure is close to 5,000, and the industry is working at about 15% of the pre-war capacity.

In the pre-war environment this municipality occupied an area of around 493 square kilometers, on which lived around 40 000 inhabitants. According to the Dayton Accords around 50% of the land now lies in the Republika Srpska (RS), and the rest in the BiH Federation. Brcko is currently divided into North and South by the river Sava, and the South is on the front line (now the inter-entity border lines, and zone of separation).

During the war, and after the signing of the Dayton, this town came to represent a crucial strategic point for the Bosnian Serbs. They are afraid that the return of non-Serb - 79% of the pre-war population, according 1991 census, means losing the town. Around 70% of today's residents are Bosnian Serbs. Today the city is a vital transit centre for the Republika Srpska. From Banjaluka and Doboj it is possible to travel through Brcko to reach the outside world. Brcko

occupies a key position moreover, in the “Posavina Corridor” which represents the only link between the Western and Eastern halves of the RS.

The most serious war damage suffered through military operations is evident in the number of displaced persons. According to the data held by the Srpska government, around 30 000 displaced persons are now living in this city.

The city has an Orthodox church, and 2 more are being built. All monuments of other faiths have been totally destroyed. In the old library which was built during Austro-Hungarian rule, literature can still be found which reveals that this place was once a highly developed trading centre. Situated literally on the river Sava, Brcko is connected by way of the Dunav (Danube) to West Europe. Through Brcko it is possible to travel on a direct road to Croatia (Brcko-Banovici-Vinkovci). Brcko has, however, a tendency to gravitate towards Tuzla.

The Dayton Accords did not define the status of Brcko – this is pending on the publication of the final decision by the Brcko Arbitration Commission. Up till now the internationally appointed Supervisor controls and monitors the main political decisions taken at the local level.

The Arbitration Commission was finally selected on February 17, 1997, in Rome. Its members will reach their final decision a year from this date. The multi-ethnic administration, judiciary and police (under the supervisory regime), somehow but are working. The international community has devoted considerable material and financial resources in promoting the Brčko return movement model.

Although prior to the war Brcko was quite an ordinary small-sized city, the events of the war have thrown it into the center of media and political interest.

The Arbitral Tribunal for Brčko on March 15, 1998 decided that *status quo* will last until March 15, 1999.

SOME DEMOGRAPHIC FACTS ABOUT BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

- ◆ According to the 1991 census, 4,3 milion people were living in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is currently estimated that there are about three milion people now living in the country. The 1992-‘95 war resulted in over 1 million people being internally displaced within the country, and about the same number still seeking refuge abroad in some 25 host countries.
- ◆ The number of returnees has to date fallen far short of expectations. Almost three years since the DPA came into force, only about 150.000 refugees and displaced persons have regained their pre-war homes, and almost exclusively in areas in which they form part of the majority ethnic group. Moreover, a further 80.000 people have been displaced during the transfer of territory between the two Entities.
- ◆ According to UNHCR Sarajevo Operations Unit (*Statistics Package* , August 1, 1998), registered returns of displaced persons within Bosnia-Herzegovina were, as follows:

- * in 1997 within Federation of B-H **37,829** (Estimated : 53,160) ;
- * in 1997 within Republika Srpska **3,294** (Estimated : 5,200) ;
- * in 1997 within B-H (Grand Total) **41,123** (Estimated : 58,360) ;
- * in 1998 (until June) Fed. B-H **3,586** (Estimated : 7,300) ;
- * in 1998 (until June) Rep. Srpska **308** (Estimated : 480) ;
- * in 1998 (until June) B-H (G.T.) **3,894** (Estimated : 7,780) ;

According the same source, registered and estimated repatriation of refugees to B-H was, as follows :

- * in '97 to Federation of B-H **66,786** (estim. 111,650) ;
- * in '97 to Republika Srpska **5,451** (estim. 8,700) ;
- * in '98 to F B-H (until June) **14,684** (estim. 34,140) ;
- * in '98 to RS (until June) **586** (estim. 1,160) ;
- * in '98 to B-H (until June) **15,270** (estim. 35,300) ;

There are very indicative figures with regard to organized/assisted repatriations by host countries. For example, in 1996 returned, in total, 23,845 persons, out of which from Germany only 1,651. In 1997 : 68,848, but 57,834 from Germany ; until end of July 45,100 (43,490 from Germany), and in grand total : **137,803** returned homeland, out of which from Germany **102,975** !

With regard to registered minority returns (from January 1 until June 30, 1998), 324 Bosniaks returned to Federation of B-H, 1,583 Croats, and 2,255 Serbs ; in the Republika Srpska 507 Bosniaks returned home, 39 Croats and none (0) of Serbs. On the B-H level, in total, 831 Bosniaks, 1,622 Croats, and 2,255 Serbs returned home. Total minority returns score is **4,708**.

Despite 1998 has been declared as the year of return, relocation has already a dominant trend. An estimated 70 percent of the repatriations from abroad that took place in the first half of 1998 led to relocation. In January 1998 the Council of Europe called on member states to "refrain from forced repatriation of refugees originating from minority areas in order to avoid further destabilization of the ethnic composition of the country." (Recommendation 1357 of the Council of Europe, adopted January 29, 1998). If to be continued, relocation will consolidate ethnic separation, and restoring a multiethnic Bosnia project will be definitely abandoned.

Ethnic Composition of Some Cities/Municipalities (According to 1991 Census)

slijedi tabela

The Dayton Accords – Three Years Later

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA ON THE CROSSROADS:
THE CHALLENGES OF BUILDING NEW STABILITY

By Dušan Babić

Hardly anyone in 1995 could have foreseen that the peace process initiated in Dayton would survive the dark years of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, since borders here are drawn with blood.

Despite all its weakness and imperfectness, the Dayton Peace Agreement (DPA) was a successful tool for managing the B-H confrontation and in particular for promoting peaceful change. Namely, the basic problem with the UN mandate in Bosnia-Herzegovina was that the UN wanted simply peace, not justice. However, Bosnia-Herzegovina now is faced with challenges and responsibilities. Firstly, how to preserve peace and secondly, how at least to amortize injustice if it cannot be eliminated. If so, it should be also a source of inspiration in tackling the new tasks.

The New Political and Social Landscape in the Post-Dayton Bosnia

The post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina is indeed at an important historic watershed, and consequence of the new challenges the all ethnic groups in B-H should face. This paper doesn't aspire to a comprehensive political overview of the post-Dayton B-H, but aims only to point roughly the country's new political and social landscape, and its most pressing problems.

On the eve of the '98 elections, political and social landscape in Bosnia-Herzegovina has significantly changed since last year's elections.

Property and housing legislation which should enable people to reclaim their pre-war homes, as well as for the return to their real property, came into force on April 4, '98. This is for the B-H Federation. Considering the Republika Srpska, OHR is working with the RS authorities to ensure that the proposed laws comply with Annex 7 of the DPA, and are consistent with laws adopted within the Federation. Meanwhile, all drafts presented to the RS Assembly for adoption were not passed, and were returned to the Government for re-drafting. August 31, '98, was set as a deadline by the Peace Implementation Council in Luxembourg for draft legislation acceptable to the High Representative to be finalized and passed by the RS National Assembly.

Some obstacles to implementation of the Federation housing and property laws have been identified, and OHR has intervened repeatedly with responsible authorities. But until now, without visible results.

New common license plates have improved freedom of movement. From June 1, '98, only cars with the new Bosnia-Herzegovina uniform license plates issued together with the uniform vehicle registration documents are allowed to cross international borders. By August 31, 1998, all vehicles in B-H will be required to carry the new license plates and uniform vehicle registration documents.

In the same way (imposed by the High Representative), B-H symbols – flag and the coat of arms have been inaugurated as a temporary solution. Now is underway procedure for the B-H national anthem.

After substantial delay, new single currency has been introduced also in June '98. The Bosnian common currency, the *Convertible Mark (KM)*, is a real currency (equal to Deutsch Mark – DM), and all official transactions at the level of the State and Entities will have to be performed in *Convertible Marks*. Citizenship is not yet legally defined. Problems with passports have been finally solved. Property and housing legislation obstruct the return of refugees and displaced persons to their pre-war homes. There are still obstructions to implementation of '97 election results (e.g., Srebrenica). However, new political climate in RS is promising, in particular in creating the necessary conditions for sustainable economic growth.

We are approaching the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights . Is the Declaration still valid document at the end of the century ? The Bosnians who bitterly suffered would say no. Besides, past five decades indicate lack of political will by those in power in implementing the Declaration, not the rhetorics of the document itself, which was to blame for its failures. Almost the same is with the DPA, in particular in the field of human rights. Cases and trends, despite improvements in some areas, affecting the overall human rights situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina , and are not promising.

Despite key international organizations involved in implementation of the DPA declared 1998 the “*year of minority returns*”, it is quite possible that this year’s return movement process might turn into the “*year of mass relocation* “ ! It is the syntagma appeared in the prominent International Crisis Group (ICG) report “Minority Return or Mass Relocation ?”, May '98. It might be interpreted as an objection of formal or marginal importance, but international community did mistake by adding , or introducing word “minority”. Simply it should said “year of returns”.

Return movement picture is indeed bleak, in particular six months after the signing of the *Sarajevo Declaration*, and almost four months after the *Banjaluka Return Conference* document has been accepted. International community obviously failed to impose an unconditional return process. Supporting two-way flow return process by some ruling political parties, as ostensibly matter of principle, was simply pretext for mass-scale obstructions to minority returns.

“Sarajevo should lead the country by example by taking the concrete steps set forth in this Declaration to enable the return of at least 20,000 minority pre-war residents in 1998, as proof of its determination to act as a model for reconciliation, multiethnicity, freedom of movement and the **unconditional** (underl. by auth.) right to return throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina” (pharagraph 4).

After closing this text for print (early of August '98), only 650 of Serbs, Croats, Jews and other (non-Bosniaks) entered their pre-war homes. According to Sarajevo Canton figures, about 1,000 non-Bosniaks returned to Sarajevo. However, it is less than 5 % of projected number, i.e., 20,000. Early of July of this year an undeclared samctions have been imposed on Sarajevo Canton by the international community, United States (USAID) and the European Union, respectively.

Banjaluka Regional Return Conference also introduced a new trap syntagma “**the voluntary return**”, which probably wasn’t aimed to obstruct return movement process, but consequences are serious since have resulted from shameless orchestrated political manipulation. The Republika Srpska Government failed to implement its obligations with respect to returnees. What should be noted also is that conditions for safe and dignified return have not been established yet.

Recognizing incompleteness of the Dayton Accords, international community decided to improve it in some segments/aspects. It happened firstly in Sintra, Portugal (May '97). The key novelty of the *Sintra Declaration* was clear and concise formulation stating that Bosnia-Herzegovina is consisted of two **multi – ethnic** entities. At that time, by some local politicians, and even by some political analysts, it was interpreted as a silent revision of the DPA ! Was it ?

Bonn Peace Implementation Conference (December '97) went further in widening the High Representative's mandate in B-H, in particular in the field of media. The Bonn Conference announced establishment of interim *Independent Media Standards and Licensing Commission IMSLC*), recently reduced to ***Independent Media Commission (IMC)*** but on it, in more details, later.

Destruction of property and violence in places such as Derventa, Drvar, Stolac, Travnik, continues to hinder return movement, as well as to restore confidence and tolerance among peoples. The most recent bombing in Travnik and Kakanj, and arson in Stolac – are desperate remedy of nationalistic elements in trying to homogenize their voters in very last moments.

Journalism in the Post – Dayton Bosnia

No one can deny that the media conquest was a precondition for the territory conquest. Unfortunately, media played a catalyst role shortly before the war, during the war, and in the post-war period, and still do. Just bearing in mind the role the media played in the destruction of former Yugoslavia, the international community in Bosnia-Herzegovina has spent much time, energy and money to restore the role media should play in a western-style democratic society. Sometimes they used unpopular means such as was the SFOR's temporary seizure of transmitters of the Srpska Radio Televizija (SRT) because of its inflammatory reporting (*inter alia* , anti-SFOR tv spot). It was in time when SRT was totally controlled by the Pale regime hardliners. However, it was a necessary step towards democratization of media in the Republika Srpska.

Despite country is approaching the DPA's third anniversary , and despite country is formally consisted of two entities : Federation of B-H and Republika Srpska, but in reality there are three entities : RS, Bosniak-controlled Federation territory and Croat-controlled Federation territory.

Since hate speech and inflammatory reporting is still widespread, and effectively endangers the DPA, and since international community is firmly committed to establish free and pluralistic media throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, they decided to introduce an unique body - ***Independent Media Commission (IMC)*** , established on June 11, 1998 by the High Representative as an independent agency, in accordance with internationally recognized practice, and with regulatory powers.

The *IMC* should serve the following purposes: broadcast licensing, professional codes of conduct, receiving complaints and monitoring media, and cooperation with local authorities. It is also projected that at the earliest feasible time, the *IMC* will transfer its authorities and responsibilities to an indigenous domestic body.

Even a mere announcement of the possibility itself of the creation of a regulatory body in the field of media, has been accepted by some media people with bitter refusal, or at least with grumbling, such as : “New censors are coming ... “ , or the like. But no place for concern. There is simply explanation. Post-Dayton Bosnia is indeed the unique country even in the world,

and since the press must share the country's destiny, it means that the B-H media, at least temporary, cannot follow the western formula of mass media. Namely, **"There is no bad news"** syntagma as the western journalism creed, at least, shouldn't work entirely in Bosnia. It wouldn't be a blackout on news, it would be only soft-pedal reports of bad news. Point is to stope news coverage which pours fuel on the flames of hatred. Journalism, simply, cannot be a destructive force as it has been, and still is, in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Besides, hate speech and war propaganda are not protected in international law under freedom of expression, since no group or person can engage in an activity aimed to destroy the rights and freedoms of others (Article 19 of the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). Freedom of opinion is absolute, but freedom of expression is not.

Both local media people and local authorities must act in a manner presuming that creation of the *IMC* is not the way toward an ambience in which censorship, or self-censorship, or silence will flourish.

Bosnia – Country of the European Flavor

By adopting a *Declaration on Special Relations* between the European Union and Bosnia-Herzegovina recently in Luxembourg, European Union authorities made a clear political sign to bring Bosnia closer to the European Union's structure.. Already earlier, similar move did the Council of Europe. But to be the Council of Europe full member- state, B-H must previously to satisfy all requirements in particular with respect the human rights and privatization issues. Namely, country must establish a secure legal environment for the privatization process .

Pre-war Bosnia's economy was based on the dirty industry technologies heavily destroyed during the war. The air, soil and water degradation has been caused by an act of overindustrialization and unbalanced developpment. Bearing in mind that even at that time it were considered as already old –fashioned technologies, it is today useless to recover it. One can consider it could be only benefits Bosnia derived from the war, but unfortunately post-Dayton Bosnia is ecologically vulnerable country Its soil is littered by millions of mines, deforestation is alarming, as well as widespread so-called low radiation due to war-related circumstances, and inappropriate and uncontrolled burning down of donored medicaments went out of use , causes serious air-pollution , etc. It is not the quality of life that is in danger, it is life itself in danger in Bosnia.

The universal dimension of human rights cannot be compromised by political and economic imperatives, or by some related considerations. Post-Dayton Bosnia must be a model of balanced and sustainable development, primarily implying balance between economic growth and environmental protection.

Post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina cannot escape the legacies of its recent past, but Bosnia also cannot for ever be hostage of its horrifying past. If so, what Bosnians need is to live in the truth. Furthermore, Bosnians have the freedom to live in the truth ... Within the so-called *Bosnian Initiative* of the United States Institute of Peace, which is an independent, nonpartisan federal institution created by Congress to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflicts, is helping to create a *Truth and Reconciliation Commission* for Bosnia-Herzegovina. It will be an extremely complex and hard task to reconcile peoples who considered , or still do, themselves archenemies for centuries.

It will be also difficult to reconcile the perception of two/three power centers that should have good relationship with one another, and with the goal of an undivided Bosnia ...

Restoring B-H is a complex and extremely difficult task which requires the dedicated efforts of both domestic and foreign actors. Since it is at the same time **process** it will last even for decades. Europe is now in particular faced with a painful process of building reconciliation and tolerance in Bosnia, which is indeed at a turning point in its history . The challenge is daunting, but the aim is definitely worth pursuing.

Experts and political analysts claim that Europe's most significant source of peace today is not NATO, it is the process of European integration. But, there is no European integration without integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina itself.

In brief, Bosnia must survive as a political project if Europe intends the same . The Europe firstly and then also international community, and finally the principles of civilization are at stake over the Bosnia.

Sarajevo, August 1998

SFOR- Then and Now

Following the signing of the Bosnian Peace Agreement in Paris on 14 December 1995, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was given a mandate by the United Nations, on the basis of Security Council Resolution 1031, to implement the military aspects of the General Framework Agreement for Peace. With that, the largest military operation ever undertaken by the Alliance was underway. Nations from all over the globe put their political differences aside and set out together to end one of the bloodiest wars in history.

The NATO-led operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, first Joint Endeavor then Joint Guard and now Joint Forge and now Joint Guard, were and are NATO's first-ever "out of area" deployments and its first-ever joint operations with NATO's Partnership for Peace partners and other non-NATO countries

The Implementation Force (IFOR) - A Promise of Peace

On 16 December 1995 Operation Joint Endeavor began as thousands of troops began pouring into the war-torn Balkans. Their mission was to help the three entities, Moslem, Croat, and Serb implement a peace accord which they had agreed to at Dayton. IFOR was not sent to fight a war or to impose a settlement of any of the Parties; it arrived to implement and secure a promise of peace.

The 12 month IFOR mission was an historic success. Sixty thousand Implementation Force soldiers from 36 different nations deployed into a volatile situation, separated the former warring factions, oversaw the reduction of the military and the transfer of areas from one entity to another. IFOR established and monitored a Zone of Separation and channeled weapons into approved storage sites. IFOR also cleared and rebuilt roads and more than 70 bridges, reestablished rail lines and created the environment needed for freedom of movement to exist.

The mandate for the NATO-led Implementation force expired on 20 December 1996. On that same date, a NATO Stabilization Force (SFOR) was activated and its mandate extended on 20 June 1998 for an unlimited period.

The Stabilization Force (SFOR) - Continuing the Peace

As approved by the United Nations Security Council under resolution 1174, SFOR will remain in Bosnia-Herzegovina as the multi-national force supporting the implementation of peace.

SFOR's main tasks are to continue to deter hostilities and to contribute to a secure environment enabling consolidation of the peace process.

SFOR facilitates the return of refugees by helping the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) to promote their phased and orderly return. The primary mission of SFOR is to secure environment necessary for the consolidation of peace. It does that mainly by deterring or preventing a resumption of hostilities or new threat to peace, consolidating IFOR's achievements and promoting a climate in which the peace process can continue to move forward.

SFOR continue to assist the efforts of the international agencies in tasks which are essential to the long-term consolidation of peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

SFOR, is working is working with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) on elections preparation, providing a secure framework for all elections, supporting communications logistical support, and being prepared to provide other assistance as needed.

SFOR participates in Media reforms by backing the work of the OHR and OSCE.

SFOR also assists in human rights monitoring in OSCE field offices; logistical support is being provided to the International Criminal Tribunal Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the investigation of war crimes; assistance is being provided to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) in the return of refugees and displaced persons; help in the maintenance of law and order is being provided to the UN International Police Task Force (IPTF); and air and ground transport assistance is made available to the Office of the High Representative (OHR) and others.

SFOR units have provided mine awareness training and education to local schools and community groups. SFOR military engineers have repaired and opened more than 2500 km of roads in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and have been rebuilding or repairing bridges, including those linking the country with Croatia. The force has also been involved in the demining and repair of railroads and opening up airports to civilian traffic, in restoring gas, water and electricity supplies, in rebuilding schools and hospitals and in restoring key telecommunication assets.

Finally, SFOR includes a specialized group of about 350 personnel such as lawyers, education and public transportation specialists, engineers, agricultural experts, economists, public health officials, veterinarians, communication experts and many others. These are part of a Civil Military team, referred to as CIMIC, which provides technical advice and assistance to various commissions and working groups, civilian organizations, non-governmental organizations and SFOR units, as well as to the Parties to the Agreement and local authorities.

SFOR will remain of significant size and structure, progress of the Dayton Peace Agreement will be reviewed at six month intervals; the mandate has no end date.

NATO Today

The NATO-led operations in Bosnia-Herzegovina demonstrate that the Alliance is adapting its forces and policies to the requirements of the post-Cold War world, while

continuing to provide collective security and defense for all Allies. It is tangible proof that, in addition to carrying out the core functions of deterrence and defense of the Alliance, its military forces have the flexibility to be used outside the NATO area, for operations under the authority of the UN Security Council and with clear political objectives defining the military tasks. NATO's own military capabilities and its adaptability to include forces of non-NATO countries are decisive factors in the Alliance's role in implementing the Peace Agreement.

SFOR operations show that the Alliance remains vital, relevant and prepared to deal with the new, multifaceted security risks facing Europe with the end of the Cold War.

SFOR Information

International organizations press conferences are conducted Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday, or and Friday at the Coalition Press Information Center at Tito Barracks CComplete transcripts of these Conferences can be found on the Internet at:

[Http://www.nato.int/ifor/landcent/trans.htm](http://www.nato.int/ifor/landcent/trans.htm)

Past transcripts can also be found on the internet at:

[Http://www.nato.int/ifor/landcent/trans.htm](http://www.nato.int/ifor/landcent/trans.htm)

SFOR Press Information Center

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A SKETCH FOR AN ECONOMIC PORTRAIT OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

The main problem – unemployment

Progress made in Bosnia-Herzegovina's post-war rehabilitation and reconstruction is visible, but still insufficient for the country to rejoice at seriously coming close to the association it was part of before the war – the group of medium developed countries of the world community.

People live better than they did in the previous years. However, it is far from good. For instance, the average monthly salary in the Republika Srpska in 1997 was only 85 DEM. In the Federation it is almost three times as much (about 350 DEM). Neither is enough for satisfying the minimum existential needs of a family of four in a country with a threateningly high unemployment rate.

The welfare state is a perspective whose achievement is difficult to predict. However, facts and their analysis offer multiple-meaning conclusions and assessments. Starting with those that in comparison to predictions, the rehabilitation and reconstruction rate is somewhat slower, to the impatience and skepticism with which everything that is achieved is received. There are opinions that slow economic development is to be blamed on the insufficient engagement of domestic potentials and the lack of clear development visions, which should be transformed into a development strategy and current economic policy measures.

After the signing of the Dayton Agreement, the international community announced \$5.1 billion in economic assistance to Bosnia-Herzegovina, which should have been implemented over a period of three to four years after the war. A "key" was also defined, according to which \$3.7 billion of the sum would go to the Federation, and \$1.4 billion to the Republika Srpska.

During the 1996 and 1997 donors conferences, the international community firmly promised assistance worth \$3.2 billion. This year's donors conference resulted in announcements of another \$1.2 billion in assistance, and especially encouraging is the fact that for the first time representatives of both entities appeared at the conference within the unified BiH delegation, representing jointly-agreed positions.

By the end of May this year, of the announced \$3.2 billion, \$1.8 billion was spent for rehabilitation and reconstruction, from which one could conclude that reconstruction is a little late. Still, the main driving force behind economic progress in the post-war times was precisely this international assistance.

Some indicators seem impressive, but compared to the pre-war situation they give rise to doubt. For instance, the gross national product rate in 1996 was 50 percent of that of the previous year, and in 1997 it was a further 30 percent. However, industrial production still has not reached the 20 percent pre-war production, and the gross national product grew primarily thanks to the inflow of international aid, which was dominantly directed into infrastructure reconstruction as the basis for activating the existing economic resources.

Thanks to this orientation, living conditions improved in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the past two and a half years (apartments and houses were reconstructed or rebuilt) for 250,000 people, water and electricity supply was normalized to a great degree, about 500 schools and faculties were refurbished. Numerous health facilities were reconstructed, 25,000 mines and unexploded ordnance cleared, around 900 kilometers of road rebuilt, and the railway network technically prepared for use. The revival of agricultural production was also given support, which now satisfies 50 percent of the population's needs in food...

Donor assistance was also partly directed into fiscal needs, chiefly in the field of social problems, as well as into establishing institutions in the function of transition from a planned to a market economy. Particular emphasis was put on creating conditions for enterprise and banking reconstruction. Part of the necessary regulations necessary in order for this process to be

successful were passed, but results achieved in concrete implementation so far have been modest. More precisely, the ownership transition is still at the very beginning despite the frequently repeated determination that small- and medium-sized private companies should become the main generator of progress, which appear either with the founding of new enterprises or ownership transformation of former social/state enterprises. Legal regulations are still either incomplete or cannot be implemented.

Certainly the biggest problem in Bosnia-Herzegovina is the high unemployment rate of the working population. At the end of 1997 there were 338,000 employees in the Federation, and close to 200,000 in the Republika Srpska. These indicators mean that only half of the working population before the war now have jobs. Employment, according to official records, is sought by close to 400,000 people, and according to assessments of some experts, even as much as half a million of people.

Unfortunately, even these gloomy figures must be taken with a big dose of reserve. Among those in the Federation who are registered as employed are 80,000 workers "who are waiting" (workers who are formally registered in companies as employed, but who receive no salary or a symbolic one). Practically, these people are jobless. The situation in the Republika Srpska is similar: of the total number of employees a significant percentage go to work, but they have nothing to do there. This is shown by Syndicate assessments, and one of the consequences are the already mentioned symbolic average salaries.

Social vulnerability is especially pronounced in the very large category of pensioners. The high unemployment rate directly influences their earnings. Namely, to each worker in BiH there is one pensioner! This "proportion" is not economically endurable, because pension funds are empty, and contributions to it by those who now work are small. The outcome of this is that last year the average monthly pension in the Republika Srpska amounted to 40 marks and in the Federation about 100.

The international community has tried to add some lighter tones to this gloomy picture by opening credit lines for founding and improving the work of micro, large- and medium-size companies. By the end of April 1998 more than 10,000 such credits were approved, and it is believed that several tens of thousands of people were employed in this way. Of that number, more than 90 percent is related to the Federation, and only 10 percent to the Republika Srpska, where this way of supporting private businesses started only in October last year. The World Bank has announced a special line for this purpose in the Republika Srpska. Its planned value is \$20 million, and credits will be approved through local banks under the same conditions applied in the Federation: the amount of an individual loan is limited to 250,000 DEM, the debt service deadline is three years, including a six-month grace period.

Political conditioning of the inflow of economic assistance on the implementation of the Dayton Agreement continues to be the first principle that donors adhere to. The Republika Srpska very much felt the consistency of its application during the time it was led by the uncooperative hardliners based in Pale. In the first two post-war years only 10 percent of announced aid went to this entity. With the beginning of democratic processes, especially with the election of the Government headed by Milorad Dodik, the situation significantly changed. The international community especially conditions support on results achieved in the return of refugees. Due to obstruction of this request, aid for some municipalities was suspended, and several donors did the same thing to the city of Sarajevo in the spring of 1998. In addition to this, it is evident that a process of inter-entity economic cooperation is opening, although things in this field are going with great difficulty. Primarily in the application of earlier agreed and passed laws that are supposed to provide a minimum of economic reintegration in the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and synchronization of control and supervision agencies' activities.

The "quick start" package of laws, passed by the BiH Parliament in mid-last year, is being applied only partially. This package encompasses laws on the Central Bank, customs and foreign-trade policy, foreign debt and customs tariffs. For now, only the law on the Central Bank is being applied fully, but thanks to great pressure from the international community. A single

BiH currency has been introduced – the convertible mark (KM), and the Central Bank has taken over the legally provided function of a currency board. The National Bank of the Republika Srpska was abolished, and the liquidation of the National Bank of BiH is underway.

The customs and foreign trade policy still has not been harmonized in the entities, cooperation between institutions is at a low level. Borders are porous, illegal trade is widely present. Entity fiscal policies also differ, the formally abolished internal boundaries still exist, legal regulations are incomplete. Without doubt, this list of inadequacies represents the main tasks that the newly-elected members of the state and entity leaderships will have to tackle after the elections. In addition, Bosnia-Herzegovina yet faces macro-economic reform.

ELECTIONS IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

The 1990 General Elections

The main characteristic of the 1990 elections is that they were the first multiparty elections after 45 years of rule of the communist party, and that they produced a complete change in the political authorities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Communist rule was replaced by the rule of three nationalist parties, each of which claimed to represent an entire nation. Although the political concept of rule did not change, the then communist leaders mostly became transformed into new national leaders, and the previous communist ideology was replaced by national ideology.

The election model applied in the 1990 Bosnia-Herzegovina elections

The applied election model in Bosnia-Herzegovina, (the manner of determining the results of the first multiparty elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina in November/December 1990), differed according to the various structures for which parties nominated their representatives. Above all, this refers to the structure of the Bosnia-Herzegovinian Parliament - the Socialist Republic of BiH Assembly (with a Chamber of Municipalities and Chamber of Citizens) and the SR BiH Presidency.

Election of SR BiH Presidency Members

Voting for the members of the SR BiH presidency was carried out simultaneously with voting for deputies in municipal assemblies (of the city of Sarajevo) and deputies for both chambers of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The entire Republic was defined as a single election unit, and the law stated that the election of SR BiH Presidency members would be carried out under the relative majority system, according to national quotas.

Namely, the law defined that from the representatives of one nationality (Moslems, Serbs, Croats), two candidates at the most may be elected, and for candidates representing Yugoslavs and others, one at the most (2+2+2+1), so that one voter had a total of seven votes at his disposal.

Candidates who received the most votes (relative majority) up to the number chosen from the representatives of that people, were elected as members of the SR BiH Presidency.

Hence, four candidate lists (sections of ballots) were formed for the election of Presidency members as follows: list of candidates representing Moslems (the BiH Constitution was changed in 1992, changing the name Moslem into the name Bosniak); a list of candidates representing Serbs; a list of candidates representing Croats and a list of candidates representing members of other nations and nationalities; that is citizens who did not define themselves in national terms or who defined themselves according to religious or other background.

As it was decided that voting would be carried out according to national lists, it was also decided that election results would be determined separately for candidates from each section of the list.

Election of Deputies to the Chamber of Citizens of the SR BiH Assembly

Election results were determined and mandates for the Chamber of Citizens of the SR BiH Assembly and municipal assemblies were apportioned according to the system of proportional representation, by combining the election quota and the d'Hondt formula (election quotient).

An important feature of this system is that it enables parliament participation for a larger number of parties, affirming the multiparty system.

The election of deputies to the Chamber of Citizens of the SR BiH Assembly was carried out in seven election units, as follows: election unit Sarajevo (24 deputies elected), election unit Tuzla (28), election unit Zenica (15), election unit Mostar (15), election unit Doboj (14), election unit Banja Luka (25) and election unit Bihac (9). Therefore, 130 deputies were elected to this chamber of the BiH parliament.

The absolute majority system, was applied for the election of deputies to the Chamber of Municipalities of the SR BiH Assembly. The election of deputies for this chamber was extended to a second round for those election units where no single candidate received absolute majority (simple majority of ballots cast in the election unit).

For the election of deputies to this chamber, which consisted of 110 mandates (one deputy office for each of the 109 municipalities and one deputy office for the city of Sarajevo), each municipality was an election unit for the election of one deputy, and the city of Sarajevo was also an election unit for one deputy.

The same system as for the election of deputies to the Chamber of Citizens of the SR Assembly, was applied for the election of deputies to the Sarajevo City Assembly. The units for the election of deputies to the City Assembly were the 10 municipalities forming the city of Sarajevo (Old Town, Center, New Sarajevo, New Town, Ilidza, Vogošća, Hadzici, Ilijaš, Trnovo and Pale).

One can say the 1990 elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina represented a combined election model: majority, with absolute and relative majorities; and proportional representation, with a combination of election quota and the d'Hondt formula (election quotient).

Results of the 1990 elections

Forty-one registered parties ran in the 1990 elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina, of which 15 were in coalitions. The results follow:

Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina

Eight political parties nominated 27 candidates for the BiH Presidency, in addition to one independent candidate (total of 28 candidates). As we know, the Presidency was elected from three national parties (Democratic Union HDZ 2).

Voters, when they cast their ballots for members of the SR BiH Presidency, were able to choose one or seven candidates. This was the only list in the BiH elections on which voters could choose more than one candidate, thus violating the basic democratic principle of one man - one vote. In the candidate list sections for Moslems, Serbs, Croats and others, voters could choose two candidates from each, and one from 'others'. A consequences of this manner of voting is the fact that the BiH electorate was in practice much larger than it really was. This allowed for a much greater possibility of manipulation.

List of candidates for members of the SR BiH Presidency according to the number of votes won

1. Abdić Fikret	1,045,539	33,25%
2. Izetbegović Alija	879,268	27,96%
3. Ganić Ejub	708,691	22,57%
4. Plavšić Biljana	673,812	18,24%
5. Koljević Nikola	556,218	17,68%
6. Kljuić Stjepan	473,002	16,04%
7. Boras Franjo	410,828	13,25 %

A total of 2,339,958 voters took part in the elections for the SR BiH Assembly (of the total 3,144,353 enlisted in voter lists), or 74,42%, which can be regarded as a very good voter turnout. There were 127,291 invalid ballots, or about 5,5%, which is surprisingly low in view of the complexity of the elections.

Voters gave support to 130 deputies in the Chamber of Citizens from 11 political parties, and 110 deputies in the Chamber of Municipalities from seven political parties.

In the BiH Assembly Chamber of Citizens, three nationalist parties achieved the best results: the SDA won 33% of the mandates, the SDS 26.15%, and the HDZ 16.15%. The opposition bloc encompassed reformed communists and reformists who won 17% mandates. The remaining mandates went to minor parties.

The three national parties scored an even more convincing victory in the election for the Assembly's second chamber - Chamber of Municipalities. In that Chamber, the SDA won 39% of the mandates, SDS 34.5%, HDZ 21% mandates. The remaining number of mandates went to former communists.

Similar results were achieved in the municipal elections, held on the same day as the national polls. The three national parties won absolute or relative majorities in as many of 104 of the then 109 municipalities. Only in Tuzla, Novo Sarajevo and Vareš, former communists and reformists (their descendants are the SDP - Social-Democratic Party, and the UBSD - Union of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Social-Democrats) won majority.

Election results for the local-municipal assemblies were led by five parties, which in 1990 and even later remained the most serious political competitors on the Bosnian-Herzegovinian political scene.

The three national parties, SDA, SDS and HDZ, won a total of 75.78% of all municipal mandates (4,774 mandates). At the "tail" of these three parties were the SK SDP (former communists) and the SRSJ BiH (reformists), which won 19.80% of all municipal mandates, or 1,247 mandates. All other parties won 4.42% mandates, or 278 seats in municipal assemblies.

The war practically destroyed the entire system of rule.

The 1996 general elections

The 1996 general elections were held pursuant to Annex 3 of the Dayton Agreement, although, according to the assessments of some relevant international factors, all necessary conditions for conducting them in September of 1996 had not been fulfilled. However, since the elections were an integral part of the Dayton Peace Agreement, the international community led by the United States concluded that conducting the general elections, despite the lack of complete freedom of movement, equal media access for all, and the impossibility of political communication throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina, was less damaging than not holding them. Hence, measures were undertaken to organize the elections, after all.

Contrary to 1990, when Bosnia-Herzegovina was a single country, the Dayton Agreement affirmed the new reality - the existence of two entities in BiH. Pursuant to that, the following structure of authority in BiH was conceived: the BiH Presidency with three members

(one each from the ranks of Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs), the parliamentary Assembly of BiH with 42 members, the BiH Federation Parliament with 140 members, the People's Assembly of the Republika Srpska with 75 members, as well as 10 cantons in the BiH Federation numbering 15 to 59 deputies.

Election Results

Of the three Presidency members, two were elected in the BiH Federation - the Bosniak and Croat members.

Eight candidates to be the Bosniak member were nominated by seven political parties and one coalition. A total of 966267 voters cast their ballots. SDA candidate Alija Izetbegović won, receiving 75.60% of all votes. The second most successful candidate was Hairs Silajdžić - candidate of the Party for BiH, with 12.87% votes.

Four candidates to be the Croat member were nominated by three political parties and one coalition. A total of 415.556 voters cast their ballots. The winner was Krešimir Zubak, candidate of the HDZ, with 77.65% of the votes. The second most successful candidate was Ivo Komšić, candidate of the Joint List BiH, receiving 8.85% of the votes.

The third Presidency member was elected from the Republika Srpska. Four candidates to be the Serb member of the Presidency were nominated by three political parties and one coalition. A total of 1,128,092 voters cast their ballots. Momčilo Krajišnik, SDS candidate, won with 61.22% of all votes. The second most successful candidate was Mladen Ivanić, candidate of the coalition Democratic Patriotic Bloc of Republika Srpska, with 27.25% of the votes.

Twenty-eight candidates were elected for the BiH Parliament from the territory of the BiH Federation, and 14 from the territory of the RS. Of the 28 elected deputies in the BiH Parliament from the territory of the BiH Federation, the SDA won most mandates - 16 or 57.14%, followed by the HDZ - eight or 29.56%, while the Party for BiH and Joint List won two mandates each.

Of the 14 Parliament deputies from the territory of the Republika Srpska, the SDS won most mandates - nine or 64.28%, followed by the SDA - three or 21.42% and the Coalition People's Alliance for Free Peace (Alliance for Peace and Progress) - two deputies or 14.30%.

The majority of candidates elected to the House of Representatives of the BiH Federation were from the SDA - 78, or 55.6%, followed by 36 HDZ candidates, or 25.7%. The next most successful groups in the Parliament were the Joint List with 11 deputies, or 7.8%, and the Party for BiH with 10 elected deputies, or 7.1%. In addition parliament seats were won by the Democratic People's Union, whose leader is Bosniak dissident Fikret Abdić, with three deputies or 2.1%, and the HSP with two elected deputies, or 1.4%.

In the 10 cantonal assemblies, the SDA won absolute or relative power in six, and the HDZ in four.

1. In Canton 1 (Bihac): of the total of 50 deputies, the SDA won 39, or 78%, the Democratic People's Union won six, or 12%, The Party for BiH three, or 6%, and one deputy seat, or 2%, was won by the HDZ and Joint List BiH each.
2. In Canton 2. (Posavina Canton): of the total of 20 mandates, the HDZ won 17, or 85%, and the SDA three, or 15%.
3. In Canton 3. (Tuzla - Podrinje): of the total of 50 deputies, the SDA won 33, or 66%, the Joint List won nine, or 18%, the Party for BiH five or 10%, and the HDZ three, or 6%.
4. In Canton 4. (Zenica-Doboj): of the total of 59 mandates, the SDA won 40, or 67.80%, the HDZ won nine, or 15.30%, the Party for BiH six, or 10.1%, and the Joint List four, or 6.8%.
5. In Canton 5. (Bosansko Podrinje Canton - Goražde): of the total of 31 mandates, the SDA won 26, or 83.9%, Party for BiH four, or 12.9%, and the Joint List one, or 3.2%.

6. In Canton 6. (Central Bosnia Canton - Travnik): of the 55 mandates, the SDA won 29, or 52.7%, the HDZ 23, or 41.8%, the Joint List two, or 3.6%, and the Party for BiH one, or 1.9%.
7. In Canton 7. (Herzegovina-Neretva-Mostar): of the total of 50 mandates, the HDZ won 28, or 56%, the SDA won 19, or 38%, the Party for BiH two, or 4%, and the Joint List one, or 2%.
8. In Canton 8. (West Herzegovina): of the total of 31 seats, the HDZ won 29, and HSP 2 seats.
9. In Canton 9. (Sarajevo): of the total of 45 seats, the SDA won 28, or 62.2%, the Joint List eight, or 17.7%, the Party for BiH six, or 13.3%, and the HDZ three, or 6.8%.
10. In Canton 10. (Livno): of the total of 15 mandates, the HDZ won 13, or 86.7%, and the SDA two, or 13.3%.

The 1996 Elections In Mostar

Elections in Mostar were held in July of 1996 before the general elections of September 1996. The motivation was the Annex to the Agreement on reviving the BiH Federation, agreed and signed in Dayton on November 9, 1995, when the principles for the transitional statute of the city of Mostar were also agreed. According to article 3 of those principles, the city of Mostar was established as a separate social-political community with six municipalities (Old Town, Center, Mostar South, Mostar West, Mostar North, Mostar East). Article 8 of those principles decided that the City Council of the city of Mostar shall consist of 48 members, of which 16 will be Bosniak representatives, 16 Croat representatives and 16 other representatives. In the first elections for the City Council held in July of 1996, according to the adopted principles and Statute of the City of Mostar, 11 seats from the ranks of 'others' were not filled, so the City Council currently numbers 37 deputies.

Not all deputies were elected by the direct vote of citizens. Twenty-four deputies were elected indirectly - through delegates, in such a way that every city municipality elected four members each to the City Council, and the remaining 13 deputies were elected by direct vote on the list for the whole city. The winner of the Mostar elections was the Coalition for Free Mostar, headed by Safet Orucevic, candidate of the SDA. Municipal councils number 25 members each, and the proportion of elected candidates is such that the HDZ has majority in three city municipalities, while the Coalition, which consists of four mostly Bosniak parties led by the SDA, in the other three.

In these elections, the opposition parties which formed the Joint List, and other opposition parties suffered total defeat.

The OSCE's Provisional Election Commission (PEC) accepted these elections as part of the general elections held in September of 1996, thus giving legality and legitimacy to the incumbent ruling structure in Mostar.

Why Were Municipal Elections Not Held In September 1996?

Annex 3 of the Dayton Agreement did not oblige the OSCE to organize the local elections at all, particularly not in September of 1996, if all conditions necessary for conducting free, fair and democratic polls were not established. This was the main reason which influenced the decision by Ambassador R. Frowick, OSCE chairman in BiH and president of the Provisional Election Commission, to postpone the Municipal Elections.

Since according to all reports by the OSCE and other international organizations and monitors, those conditions were not fulfilled, Ambassador Frowick and the Provisional Election Commission (PEC) postponed of the municipal elections and set the date for September 13 and 14, 1997.

Several reasons influenced this decision, overall:

- The lack of freedom of movement and the right to free political association in all parts of BiH;
- So-called election engineering, (a disproportionate number of applicants to use the P2 form validating residence in a location other than that registered in 1990) which endorsed the results of ethnic cleansing, and
- The lack of equal media access.

The 1997 municipal elections in BiH

A total of 2,486,428 voters were registered for the municipal elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1997 (1,345,923 or 54 percent in the BiH Federation, and 1,140,506 or 46 percent in the Republika Srpska). Of that number, 2,174,765 valid ballots were cast by 87.46 percent of the total number of registered voters (1,163,745 or 54 percent in the FBiH, and 1,011,020 or 46 percent in the RS). A total of 88 registered political parties and coalitions ran for office in 136 municipalities (including the City Council of Mostar). Of that number, 17 parties competed for voter confidence in both BiH entities (in municipalities in the FBiH and in municipalities in the RS), 21 parties from the FBiH did not run in the RS, and as many as 50 political parties from the RS did not want to compete for voter confidence in the FBiH.

A total of 4,789 municipal councilors were elected (2,118 in the FBiH and 2,671 in the RS). Each of those councilors represents an average of 519 registered voters (635 in the FBiH and 417 in the RS). The PR system (simple quota system) was applied in the distribution of mandates.

The three ruling national parties won most seats in municipal parliaments in almost all municipalities, and only in the municipal parliament of Tuzla was majority (63.33 percent) won by non-national parties of social-democratic orientation. Fourteen political subjects (two coalitions, two independent candidates and 10 political parties) ran for 30 seats in the parliament of the Tuzla municipality, and four political subjects won seats, as follows: Joint List (UBSD, HSS BiH, MBO BiH, RS, SPP BiH) won 16 mandates or 53.33 percent of all mandates, the Coalition for a Single and Democratic BiH won eight mandates or 26.66 percent of all mandates, while the Social-Democratic Party of BiH and HDZ BiH won three mandates each (10 percent each).

As has been said already, the three ruling national parties (the SDA, that is to say the Coalition for a Single and Democratic BiH, the SDS and the HDZ) won majority of the total number of 4,789 municipal mandates in 136 municipal parliaments, and they represent the first group of the most successful parties in the local elections. These three parties won a total of 3,225 or 67.34 percent of all municipal mandates. The remaining mandates went to all the other parties and coalitions, of which there were a total of 88.

The most convincing result was achieved by the Coalition for a Single and Democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina with 802,002 votes and 1,605 mandates, or 33.51 percent of all mandates. Second place by the number of mandates won (but not votes) went to the Serb Democratic Party (of Serb Lands) with 980 mandates and 277,309 votes only in the Republika Srpska, because this party, as most other parties from the RS, did not run for office in the territory of the BiH Federation. The Croat Democratic Union of BiH received 292,281 votes (270,278 in the FBiH and 22,003 in the RS) and won a total of 640 mandates.

The second group of successful parties and coalitions (by the number of mandates received) includes: Serb Radical Party of RS with 509 mandates and 156,788 votes (all from the RS); Socialist Party of RS with 329 mandates and 117,010 votes (all from the RS); Socialist Party of BiH with 192 mandates and 128,671 votes (in the FBiH 117,536, and in the RS 11,135); Joint List '97 with 63 mandates and 59,623 votes (59,039 in the FBiH and 584 in the RS).

The third group of parties consists of parties that won more than 10 but less than 50 seats in municipal assemblies. It includes: Serb Patriotic Party – SPAS with 45 mandates and 22,630 votes (all from the RS); Serb Party of Krajina and Posavina with 43 mandates and 33,267 votes (all in the RS); Party of Independent Social-Democrats with 39 mandates and 10,653 votes (all

from the RS); Homeland with 36 mandates and 9,579 votes (all from the BiH Federation); Party of Drvar Residents (SD) with 23 mandates and 228 votes (all in the RS); Serb Peasants Party with 22 mandates and 9,784 votes; Croat Peasants Party of BiH with 21 mandates and 6,904 votes (5,081 in the RS and 1,823 in the FBiH); Democratic People's Union of BiH with 20 mandates and 17,107 votes (all in the FBiH); For Drvar with 19 mandates and 5,824 votes (all in the FBiH); People's Party of RS with 18 mandates and 5,300 votes (all in the RS); Croat Party of Rights with 17 mandates and 8,401 votes (all in the FBiH); Bosnian-Herzegovinian Patriotic Party with 15 mandates and 12,767 votes (all in the FBiH); SDA (independent participation, outside of the Coalition for a Single and Democratic BiH – KCDBiH) with 13 mandates and 15,450 votes (6,340 in the FBiH and 9,110 in the RS); Democratic Patriotic Party of RS with 12 mandates and 14,534 votes (all from the RS).

The fourth group of parties encompasses parties that won less than 10 council seats. This group includes 24 parties with a total of 93 received mandates.

And the last, fifth group is made up of parties that did not win a single mandate. There are 43 political parties in this group (19 from the FBiH and 24 from the RS).

The OSCE bore great responsibility for the implementation of the local election results by December 31, 1997. However, as of August 1, 1998 the results still have not been implemented in several RS municipalities, particularly in Srebrenica, Foča and Zvornik. Therefore, we are presenting individual results in those and some other municipalities, which are strategic places for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement.

Srebrenica

A total of 18 political subjects (one coalition, one independent candidate and 16 political parties) ran for 45 seats in the parliament of the municipality in which the biggest crime against the civilian population was committed in Europe after the Second World War. Four political subjects won seats in the parliament, as follows: Coalition for a Single and Democratic Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDA, SBiH, GDS BiH, LBiH), which won 24 mandates or 53.33 percent of all mandates (with a total of 9,574 votes); Serb Democratic Party (of Serb Lands) won 12 mandates or 26.66 percent of all mandates (with a total of 4,869 votes); Serb Radical Party of RS won eight mandates or 17.77 percent of all mandates (with 3,071 votes); and *independent candidate Ibran Mustafić* entered the parliament with a total of 728 votes. The OSCE has not been able to implement these results so far.

There were a total of 22,831 voters registered in this municipality, and there were 19,560 valid ballots (870 ballots were invalid).

Foča

A total of 25,487 voters were registered, of whom 23,198 or 91.02 percent went to the polls. There were 734 invalid ballots. The results are as follows: KCDBiH 18 mandates or 40 percent of all mandates; Serb Radical Party of RS 15 mandates or 33.33 percent of all mandates; SDS (of Serb Lands) 12 mandates or 26.66 percent of all mandates.

Zvornik

A total of 51,720 voters were registered, of whom 46,980 or 90.84 percent went to the polls. There were 935 invalid ballots. The results are as follows: KCDBiH 28 mandates or 40 percent of all mandates; SDS (of Serb Lands) 20 mandates or 28.57 of all mandates; Serb Radical Party of RS 14 mandates or 20 percent of all mandates; Socialist Party of RS six mandates or 8.57 percent of all mandates; and People's Radical Party of Zvornik two mandates or 2.85 percent of all mandates. The OSCE has not been able to implement these results yet.

Brčko

The 1997 elections were also held in Brčko, one of the strategic municipalities for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement. A total of 21 political subjects competed (two coalitions, one independent candidate and 18 political parties). Five political parties and one coalition provided participation in the municipal parliament, which numbers 56 seats.

The following parties won mandates: Serb Democratic Party (of Serb Lands) won 17 mandates or 30.35 percent of all mandates; Coalition for a Single and Democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina (SDA, Party for BiH, GDS BiH, Liberals of BiH) won 16 mandates or 28.57 percent of all mandates; Serb Radical Party of Republika Srpska won seven mandates or 12.5 percent of all mandates, the same as Social-Democratic Party of BiH (SDP BiH), which was the biggest surprise on the political scene; Socialist Party of Republika Srpska won six mandates or 10.71 percent of all mandates, while HDZ BiH obtained the smallest number of council seats in the municipal parliament – three or 5.35 percent of all mandates.

The two key posts in the municipality are held by Borko Reljić (SDS-SZ) as head of municipality and Mirsad Djapo (SDP BiH) as president of the municipal parliament.

Municipalities in Mostar city and Mostar City Council

In the six municipalities in Mostar, the HDZ has absolute majority in three (in municipality Mostar Jug 68 percent, in municipality Mostar Jugozapad 68 percent, and in municipality Mostar Zapad 72 percent), and the Coalition for a Single and Democratic BiH (SDA, Party for BiH, GDSBiH and Liberals of BiH) has majority in the three remaining municipalities (municipality Mostar Jugoistok 86.36 percent, municipality Mostar Sjever 76.47 percent, and municipality Mostar Stari Grad 72 percent).

In the City Council of Mostar, which has 24 council seats, the Coalition for a Single and Democratic BiH has 15 councilors or 62.5 percent, and HDZ BiH has nine councilors or 37.5 percent.

Republika Srpska Parliament

The same (last) year when local elections were held in BiH in 1997, early elections were held for the Republika Srpska Parliament (November 23), which occurred after Biljana Plavšić's dissent with former like-minded members of the Serb Democratic Party. A total of 49 political parties, coalitions and independent candidates competed in these elections (one coalition, 18 independent candidates and 30 political parties) for 83 seats in the single-house Parliament of the Republika Srpska.

A total of 1,153,640 citizens eligible to vote were registered for these elections, and 792,994 valid ballots were cast. The percentage of citizens eligible to vote who actually voted was 70.07 percent. The best results were achieved by the following: Serb Democratic Party (of Serb Lands) with 209,767 votes and 24 mandates, or 28.91 percent of all mandates; Coalition for a Single and Democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina (SDA, Party for BiH, GDSBiH and Liberals BiH) with 136,801 votes and 16 mandates, or 19.27 percent of all mandates; Serb People's Alliance – Biljana Plavšić with 126,852 votes and 15 mandates, or 18.07 percent of all mandates; Serb Radical Party of Republika Srpska with 124,746 votes and 15 mandates, or 18.07 percent of all mandates; Socialist Party of Republika Srpska with 78,150 votes and nine mandates, or 10.84 percent of all mandates; Party of Independent Social-Democrats with 21,178 votes and two mandates, or 2.4 percent of all mandates; and SDP BiH – Social-Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina with 14,954 votes and two mandates, or 2.4 percent of all mandates. The HDZ BiH with 8,692 votes and the People's Radical Party "Nikola Pašić" with 8,118 votes did not succeed

in providing any mandates, because the bottom margin for entering the parliament was 9,555 votes. Other parties and independent candidates did not come even close to the bottom margin.

Two post-election groups were formed in the Parliament. On one side is the SDS (of Serb Lands) and Radical Party of RS, which form a strong coalition with 39 mandates, but which is still insufficient for decision-making, and on the other is an informal coalition made up of SNS-Biljana Plavšić, KCDBiH (SDA, SBiH, GDSBiH and LBiH), Socialist Party of RS, SDPBiH, and Party of Independent Social-Democrats of RS with a total of 44 mandates, which gives them parliament majority that has enabled the establishment of Milorad Dodik's Government and passage of some important laws in the parliament of this BiH entity. However, the unity of this parliament majority is now in question, because Milorad Dodik's Government has not proved itself in the issue of the return of refugees and displaced persons in the RS, or in the protection of minorities and realization of basic human rights.

PEC Rules and Regulations for the 1998 elections in BiH

According to an OSCE press release of July 23, 1998, the OSCE Provisional Election Commission (PEC) with that date concluded work on the Rules and Regulations for the 1998 general elections in BiH. The question that is posed is whether these rules and regulations are optimum from the aspect of the Dayton requirement for democratic and fair elections?

In the first half of this year the OSCE carried out consultations with scientists, legal experts, political party representatives and journalists with regard to changes in election legislation, which the public welcomed. However, the opinion that prevailed within the OSCE Provisional Election Commission is that conditions have not been created for radical changes in election legislation for the 1998 elections, which was justified by limitations in the Dayton Agreement. Hence, except for some cosmetic changes, no radical solutions were reached, that is to say there were no significant changes to the OSCE Rules and Regulations for the 1998 elections in BiH compared to the previous elections. Namely, those basic provisions regulating voter registration, i.e. active and passive voter eligibility, were not changed.

The Rules and Regulations in principle consist of very thorough, comprehensive and precise rules contained in 16 chapters. This very extensive text includes the most important elements of the election process.

The above mentioned cosmetic changes reflect in the requirement that women must make up at least 1/3 of candidate lists; the requirement that candidates must declare their assets, as well as their family members' assets; the requirement that political subjects must present their political platforms which must focus on some important issues (position toward the return of refugees and displaced persons, views on economic development, realization of minority rights, reconstruction and development issues, and the issue of education and social affairs. Essentially, these platforms must reflect views on the implementation of the Dayton Agreement); the ban on commercial advertising of political subjects in all electronic media; and the given possibility to form election alliances, which was not the case in the previous elections.

The curiosity in these rules is that they prevent in advance a possible situation in which the Bosniak candidate, under the condition that he or she receives more votes than the elected Serb or Croat candidates, would become the chair of the collective head of state, i.e. *primus inter pares*. Namely, the Rules and Regulations envision that the candidate for member of the BiH Presidency who wins most votes, if he or she is a Bosniak, will not become chair of the three-member Presidency, but will be able to become chair only after the following persons rotate on that post (eight months each): first the candidate who comes in second by the number of votes received in the elections (probably a Serb), and then the member who comes in third by the number of votes received in the elections (probably a Croat). The member with the largest number of votes won in the elections will then be chair in the third eighth-month period.

The old "reproaches" at the OSCE from before the 1996 and 1997 elections related to too wide interpretation of provisions of Annex 3 of the Dayton Agreement concerning voter

registration (publicly known as the "P2 form") remained present in the general public on the eve of the forthcoming elections, although with less intensity (according to provisions of Annex 3 the rule is that voters may register only in municipalities in which they lived in 1991, but an exception is provided enabling voters to register in their current places of residence. However, this **exception** through the OSCE PEC Rules and Regulations became a **rule**, therefore revising Annex 3 of the Dayton Agreement).

The Provisional Election Commission obviously gave in to political compromises and maintained the old rules, which enabled a large number of voters, using fictitious and forged documents, to register in their current places of residence for the 1996 and 1997 elections, instead of in municipalities where they lived in 1991 (the massive change of residences is a result of wartime resettlement of peoples, not of a freely expressed will of citizens). This is particularly true of the registration of Serbs from Croatia, which enabled them to vote in the RS. This situation is favored by the PEC decision that voter registries from the previous elections will automatically be taken as a basis for creating a permanent voter registry for the 1998 elections.

Chief prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal in The Hague for war crimes committed in the former Yugoslavia Louise Arbour explicitly blamed the Republika Srpska authorities on July 24 this year for the appearance of forged personal documents issued by Republika Srpska state bodies.

Political parties, independent candidates, coalitions and alliances in the 1998 elections in BiH

A total of 83 political subjects are registered for the BiH elections to be held on September 12-13, 1998 (58 political parties, of which 35 in the FBiH and 23 in the RS; 10 independent candidates, of which seven in the FBiH and three in the RS; 10 coalitions, of which six in the RS and four in the FBiH; and five alliances, of which three in the FBiH and two in the RS).

Elections will be held for the three-member BiH Presidency, House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina, president and vice-president of the Republika Srpska, National Assembly of the Republika Srpska, House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of the BiH Federation, for 10 cantonal assemblies in the BiH Federation, as well as for 12 municipal councils which were not elected in the 1997 elections (in the following municipalities: Domaljevac-Šamac, Dobož Istok, Dobož Jug, Teočak, Dobretići, Sapna, Pale /Canton 5/, Foča /Canton 6/, Ravno, Usora, Kostajnica and Bosanski Novi /Novi Grad/).

A total of 12 candidates are running for the BiH Presidency, with four candidates for the Bosniak member: Alija Izetbegović (Coalition for a Single and Democratic BiH), Fikret Abdić-Babo (Democratic People's Union), Sefer Halilović (Bosnian-Herzegovinian Patriotic Party), and Hajrija Rahmanović (Bosnian Party); five candidates for the Croat member: Senka Nožica (Republican Party), Gradimir Gojer (Social-Democratic Party), Ante Jelavić (Croat Democratic Union), Krešimir Zubak (New Croat Initiative) and Saša Nišandžić (Bosnian Party); and three candidates for the Serb member: Zoran Tadić (Serb Coalition for RS), Momčilo Krajišnik (Coalition of the Serb Democratic Party and Serb Radical Party), and Živko Radišić (Coalition Unity).

Two members (Bosniak and Croat) are to be elected in the territory of the BiH Federation as one electoral unit for the election of BiH Presidency members, and the Serb member is to be elected in the Republika Srpska, as the other electoral unit for the election of BiH Presidency member.

The election of Presidency members will be carried out according to the majority system in one round (relative majority system), which means that those Bosniak and Croat candidates in the FBiH will be elected who receive the largest numbers of votes among candidates from their

respective constituent peoples, and in the RS the candidate who wins the largest number of votes will be elected.

A total of 446 candidates from both entities are running for the 42-member House of Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly of Bosnia-Herzegovina. From the territory of the BiH Federation, from which 28 representatives are to be elected, a total of 246 candidates are running, nominated by 14 political subjects. From the territory of the Republika Srpska, from which 14 representatives are to be elected, a total of 200 candidates are running, nominated by 20 political subjects. The proportionate representation (PR) – simple quota system will be applied.

For president and vice-president of the Republika Srpska (they are elected in a package), five political subjects (two political parties and three coalitions) have nominated a total of 10 candidates. The most interesting battle for votes is expected between candidates of the coalition "Unity," Biljana Plavšić/Svetozar Mihajlović, and candidates of the coalition of the Serb Democratic Party and Serb Radical Party, Nikola Poplašen/Mirko Šarović.

The election of RS president and vice-president will be carried out according to the majority system – the system of relative majority in one round.

President and vice-president of the BiH Federation are not elected directly, but are appointed by the Federation Assembly, after it is constituted.

For the National Assembly of the Republika Srpska, 27 political subjects nominated a total of 1,161 candidates (for 83 seats), and for the House of Representatives of the Parliament of the BiH Federation, 15 political subjects nominated a total of 950 candidates (for 140 seats). Mandates will be distributed according to the proportionate representation system.

For assemblies in the 10 cantons of the BiH Federation, a total of 2,820 candidates were registered, and the number of political subjects that are running ranges from nine in Canton 5 (Goražde) to 20 in Canton 3 (Zenica-Doboj). Mandates will be distributed according to the proportionate representation system.

According to the Constitution of the BiH Federation, cantonal assemblies number from 30 to 50 members, but in some cantons this number is not in harmony with the FBiH Constitution.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN BIH

In this chapter we present parliamentary political parties in the BiH Federation and Republika Srpska. Non-parliamentary parties that entered into coalitions with parliamentary parties are also presented in order to fully introduce coalitions and enhance understanding of the overall political situation. The only exception is the presence of a new party – New Croat Initiative, which has attracted into its ranks part of the Croat Democratic Union's membership and which may be expected to play a significant role in these elections.

BiH FEDERATION

COALITION FOR A SINGLE AND DEMOCRATIC BiH

What is common for all parties making up this coalition is that they have a pronounced Bosniak interest and that they mostly view the situation in BiH through it. All parties stand for a single BiH and are strong opponents to its further destruction. The coalition has no contacts with any party from the Republika Srpska.

The coalition members are:

STRANKA DEMOKRATSKE AKCIJE (SDA) (Party of Democratic Action)

The party is seated in Sarajevo, Mehmeda Spahić 14

tel. (387 71) 663-971, 472-192 fax 663-970

President: Alija Izetbegović

Founded on May 26, 1990 in Sarajevo. The SDA defines itself as a democratic party of Bosniaks, members of the Moslem cultural-historic circle, and other citizens who accept its Program and Statute. It is trying to impose itself as the absolute leader of the Bosniak-Moslem people. It has an exceptionally developed party mechanism in the entire Bosniak part of the Federation, while it has party committees-in-exile for municipalities that Bosniaks were expelled from. The party defines itself as the political center, but many analysts consider it a right-wing conservative party. It stands for a united and multi-ethnic BiH, but some of its moves show that it prefers a firm national concept.

STRANKA ZA BiH (Party for BiH)

The party is seated in Sarajevo, Titova 9 A

tel/fax (387 71) 214-417, 214-418, 214-419

President: Haris Silajdžić

Registered on April 13, 1996. The party was founded by its revered leader, Co-Premier of the BiH Council of Ministers Haris Silajdžić, who was once Alija Izetbegović's closest associate, but broke away from him on the eve of the 1996 elections and formed his own party. Now he is again close to the SDA party and Izetbegović. The party strongly advocates for a united BiH. It places itself in the political center, and it tries to reconcile the differences between the East and West in its program. Its ranks included disappointed members of the SDA, well-known intellectuals and former BiH Army officers. After being appointed BiH co-prime minister, Silajdžić largely withdrew from active participating in party activities.

GRADANSKA DEMOKRATSKA STRANKA BiH (GDS) (Civil Democratic Party of BiH)

Seat: Sarajevo, Maršala Tita 9a/V

tel (387 71) 670-782 fax 663-626

President: Ibrahim Spahić

The party is the descendent of the former Socialist League of BiH – a massive political organization that operated as a wide front during the existence of the former Yugoslavia. Before the 1990 elections it changed its name into Democratic Party of Socialists (DSS), and in 1993 into today's name – GDS. The party today defines itself as the political center and promotes civil society, in whose center will be the individual – citizen. In the 1996 elections it experienced a failure, and before the 1997 elections it joined the Coalition for a Single and Democratic BiH.

LIBERALNA STRANKA BiH (Liberal Party of BiH)

Seat: Sarajevo, Maršala Tita 7a.

tel/fax (387 71) 664-540, 442-349

President: Rasim Kadić

Founded on April 21, 1990 in Sarajevo. It is the descendent of the former Association of Socialist Youth of BiH. The party defines itself as the political center. It stands for a democratic and civil BiH, but acknowledges the current state of national divisions and maintains that it will take a long time to overcome them. The party has connections with Liberal parties in Europe and is trying to apply their experiences and programs in the Bosnian conditions. In the 1996 general elections it experienced an unexpected failure, and on the eve of the local elections it joined the CD Coalition BiH.

COALITION C E N T E R

The coalition is made up of two parties only, which have not achieved significant political successes so far. However, some Republican members participate in parliaments at various levels because this political party ran in the last general elections within the Joint List Coalition. The Coalition Center strongly opposes national exclusivism and, as it has announced, in case of an election success it will enter into a post-election alliance with other opposition parties. It is

participating in these elections in alliance with the Social-Democrats of BiH, Moslem-Bosniak Organization, Democratic Party of Invalids and Party of Democratic Center of Cazin.

REPUBLIKANSKA STRANKA BiH (RS) (Republican Party of BiH)

Seat: Sarajevo, Vrazova 8/II

tel (387 71) 664-987, 525-038 and fax 664-987

President: Stjepan Kljuić

Founded on June 5, 1994 in Sarajevo. Its leader Stjepan Kljuić is a former president of HDZ BiH who was removed from the post because his policy was "too pro-Bosnian." Before the outbreak of the Bosniak-Croat war, the HDZ recalled him from the state Presidency. However, in 1994, when the mandates of HDZ members of the Presidency were abolished, he was reinstated in it by the Sarajevo authorities whom Kljuić's willingness to cooperate suited.

LIBERALNO BOŠNJAČKA ORGANIZACIJA (LBO) (Liberal Bosniak Organization)

Seat: Sarajevo, Maršala Tita 9 a

tel/fax: (387 71) 650-423, 664-840

President: Muhamed Filipović

Founded on May 29, 1994 when part of the Moslem Bosniak Organization walked out. The party has national Bosniak elements, but rejects national exclusivism and Islamization of the state.

Other parties

HRVATSKA DEMOKRATSKA ZAJEDNICA BiH (HDZ) (Croat Democratic Union of BiH)

Seat: Mostar, Kneza Domagoja b.b.

tel (387 88) 319-472, 319-478

Sarajevo, M. Tita 7a/4

tel (387 71) 664-817, 664-882

President: Ante Jelavić

Founded on August 18, 1990. HDZ BiH is under the strong influence of a Croatian party of the same name. It stands for a BiH organized on a strictly national foundation, because, according to the party, that alone can prevent the Croat people from being minimized. The HDZ is trying to impose itself as the over-all national protection movement for all Croats.

SOCIJALDEMOKRATSKA PARTIJA BIH (SDP) (Social-Democratic Party of BiH)

Seat: Sarajevo, Alipašina 41

tel (387 71) 664-044, 208-969 fax 664-042

President: Zlatko Lagumdžija

The party is the descendent of the former Communist League of BiH. It is considered the strongest opposition political party in the BiH Federation. In the political sense, it is a classical left-wing party. It participated in the general elections within the coalition Joint List, but decided to run in the 1997 local elections on its own. It stands for a united, civic and multinational BiH. It has a developed party infrastructure in all municipalities of the BiH Federation. It is running in these elections in alliance with the Party of Economic Prosperity and Liberal-Socialist Party of RS.

SOCIAL-DEMOKRATI BiH (Social-Democrats of BiH)

Seat: Sarajevo, Maršala Tita 7a

tel (387 71) 640-866 and 640-881

President: Selim Bešlić

Founded on July 27, 1990 as the Alliance of Reform Forces of BiH, which was part of the large party of the then prime minister of Yugoslavia, Ante Marković. Re-registered under the name

UBSD in May 1994. With this name it participated in the last parliamentary elections in BiH. In May 1998 it changed its name into Social-Democrats of BiH. The party has the reputation of being the most hostile critic of the incumbent government and the ruling SDA party. It promotes respect for human rights and strongly opposes all types of nationalism. It has a good relationship with some left-wing parties in the RS. It is participating in these elections in alliance with Coalition Center, Moslem-Bosniak Organization, Democratic Party of Invalids and Party of Democratic Center of Cazin.

HRVATSKA SELJAČKA STRANKA BiH (HSS) (Croat Peasants Party of BiH)

Seat: Sarajevo, Radićeva br. 4

tel (387 71) 441-897, 651-946

President: Ilija Šimić

Founded on April 12, 1993 in Sarajevo, at the time of fierce clashes between Bosniaks and Croats. Its founder and first president is a former BiH Presidency member, Ivo Komšić. The party is not nationally exclusive. It stands for a multinational BiH in which all peoples and citizens should live equally and safely. In the last elections the party was a member of the Joint List coalition.

MUSLIMANSKA BOŠNJAČKA ORGANIZACIJA (MBO) (Moslem Bosniak Organization)

Seat: Sarajevo, Maršala Tita 9a/III

tel (387 71) 205-937

President: Adil Zulfikarpašić

Registered on October 10, 1990. The MBO was founded by a group of SDA dissidents, headed by Adil Zulfikarpašić, who did not agree with the party's national concept. Zulfikarpašić was also a dissident under the Communist regime of the former Yugoslavia, and has lived for a long time in Switzerland. The party stands for a united and multiethnic BiH. It is a fierce critic of the SDA, which it accuses of trying to divide the country. The party is running in these elections in alliance with Coalition Center, Social-Democrats of BiH, Democratic Party of Invalids and Party of Democratic Center of Cazin.

HRVATSKA STRANKA PRAVA (HSP) (Croat Party of Rights)

Seat: Ljubuški

tel. (387 88) 834-310, 834-917

President: Zdravko Hrstić

Registered in February 1990 in Zagreb. The Bosnian branch was registered in Posušje in 1991. The party has been seated in Mostar since 1994. It stands for a united BiH with very close links to Croatia. At one time the party used to claim that Moslems were actually Croats of Islamic faith, but has not been emphasizing this position in public for quite some time.

NARODNA DEMOKRATSKA ZAJEDNICA (NDZ) (Democratic People's Union)

Seat unknown

tel. (385 51) 339-818 (Feba company in Rijeka)

President: Fikret Abdić

Registered on January 9, 1996 in Mostar. The party gathers the former leadership of the self-proclaimed separatist republic "Western Bosnia" who now live in exile. It stands for a BiH made up of regions, with strong ties with both Croatia and Serbia. The party won the 1997 local elections in Velika Kladuša, at the very northwest tip of Bosnia.

NOVA HRVATSKA INICIJATIVA (NHI) (New Croat Initiative)

Seat: Sarajevo, Titova 9 a

tel/fax: (387 71) 214-602, 214-603

President: Krešimir Zubak

Founded on July 27, 1998, after some members of the Croat Democratic Union (HDZ) walked out of the party due to political and leadership disagreements. The party stands for a democratic BiH and full equality of all peoples. It is favored mostly by Croats in central and northern Bosnia, although it has also formed branches in some Herzegovinian municipalities. Its president Krešimir Zubak holds the post of member of the BiH Presidency, obtained in the last elections as an HDZ candidate.

REPUBLIKA SRPSKA**KOALICIJA S L O G A (Coalition Unity)**

It is made up of a bloc of parties that strongly support RS President Biljana Plavšić and Prime Minister Milorad Dodik. It calls for the implementation of the Dayton Agreement, democratization and opening of the RS to the world. The basic characteristic of this coalition is cooperation with the international community.

Socijalistička partija RS (Socialist Party of RS)

President: Živko Radišić

Address: Kralja Petra I Karadjordjevića 103, Banja Luka

Tel/fax: (387 58) 31-643, 44-069/44-060

Founded on July 21, 1993. It is fairly close to Yugoslav President Slobodan Milošević's party of the same name. It insists on the implementation of the Dayton Agreement as the key settlement to the Serb national issue. In the last elections it was a member of the coalition Alliance for Peace and Progress.

Stranka nezavisnih socijaldemokrata (Party of Independent Social-Democrats)

President: Milorad Dodik

Address: Kralja Petra I Karadjordjevića 60, Banja Luka

Tel/fax: (387 58) 18-936, 18-937/18-936

Founded in December 1995 by Milorad Dodik and independent representatives in the Serb parliament, who broke away from the ruling SDS during the war in BiH. It calls for market economy, a just social policy and supports the Dayton Agreement. It was a member of the coalition Alliance for Peace and Progress.

Srpski narodni savez Biljana Plavšić (Serb People's Alliance Biljana Plavšić)

President: Biljana Plavšić

Address: Veselina Masleše 25, Banja Luka

Tel/fax: (387 58) 18-399, 18-596, 18-213, fax 18-213

Founded at the end of August 1997 after RS President Biljana Plavšić and her supporters broke away from the SDS. It stands for full opening of the RS to the world. It maintains that the so-called Serb issue in the Balkans should be resolved in a democratic manner and with help from the international community.

COALITION SDS -- SRS

This is a coalition of two hardline national parties. It strongly opposes the incumbent authorities, whom it accuses of taking the Serb people into a unitary BiH.

Srpska radikalna stranka (Serb Radical Party)

President: Nikola Poplašen

Address: Svetozara Markovića bb, Banja Luka

Tel/fax: (387 58) 38-886

Founded in April 1993. It is close to Vojislav Šešelj's party of the same name in Serbia. This is a right-wing nationalist party. It strongly calls for unification with Serbia, but now it has corrected this stance, and its idea now is to achieve as much independence of the Republika Srpska as possible, pursuant to the real political situation.

Srpska demokratska stranka srpskih zemalja (Serb Democratic Party of Serb Lands)

Contact person: Radovan (Markov) Karadžić

Address: Magistralni put bb, Pale

Tel/fax: (387 51) 783-723, 786-469

Founded in 1990 in Sarajevo. It is a nationalistic party with a powerful and wide party structure. Its current political program is to take advantage of everything that the Dayton Agreement offers with regard to RS sovereignty. The party has often identified itself with the fate of the entire Serb people. However, last year, due to obstruction of democratic processes in the RS, some of its membership left the party, and it lost power in most of the western RS municipalities. War crimes indictee Radovan Karadžić had been party president since its founding, but had to leave the post under strong pressure from the international community.

SERB COALITION FOR RS

The coalition parties supported Biljana Plavšić in the struggle against Pale-based hardliners. However, now they oppose her because they maintain that she and Prime Minister Milorad Dodik have selfishly taken over all power in the RS. The coalition stands for the so-called hardline national option and in some of its stands it is close to the SDS and SRS. All parties are based in Banja Luka.

Srpska stranka Krajine i Posavine (Serb Party of Krajina and Posavina)

President: Predrag Lazarević

Address: Veselina Masleše bb, tel/fax: 12-835/17-847

Narodna stranka RS (People's Party of RS)

President: Radoslav Brdjanin

Address: Trg srpskih junaka 2, tel/fax: 18-046/12-044

Srpska patriotska stranka (Serb Patriotic Party)

President: Slavko Župljanin

Address: Vidovdanska 33, tel/fax: 18-198/17-135

Demokratska patriotska stranka (Democratic Patriotic Party)

President: Predrag Radić

Address: Kralja Petra I Karadjordjevića 83, tel/fax: 38-424, 49-151/38-463

Stranka Drvarčana (Party of Drvar Residents)

President: Mile Marčeta

Address: Kralja Petra I Karadjordjevića 103, Banja Luka

Phone/fax: (387 58) 18-647, 18-398

The party mostly gathers refugees from Drvar, before the war an exclusively Serb-populated town, and now under the control of Croat authorities in the Federation. In the local elections the party won absolute power in the town, however, the Croats still hold effective power. The party forms an alliance with Social-Democrats of BiH and is practically the only more important party from the RS which is in some kind of alliance with a Federation-based party.

There are 375 media operating in Bosnia-Herzegovina today: 167 radio stations, 59 TV stations, 138 different newspapers and reviews and 11 news and phono agencies.*

The conditions in which media in BiH operate are very dynamic. In the past years the media situation has changed radically. The first turnabout took place in 1990 with the beginning of the disintegration of socialist systems. New critical papers were launched and a generation of young, non-conformist journalists appeared. Many of them even today make up the core of free and professionally prominent papers. The media ownership transformation also began.

In the fall of 1990 the first multi-party elections were held. At that time national homogenization was already completed in all of Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia's disintegration commenced. National parties that won the elections in BiH tried, each for itself, to establish positions in the media.

In mid-1991 there were 377 papers and other publications registered in BiH, 54 local radio stations, four TV stations, one news agency and the state RTV network with three radio and two TV programs. This was a solid media foundation for the future independent state of BiH. However, the war stopped development and almost destroyed the media infrastructure. Most papers and RTV stations became instruments of propaganda for the authorities and other centers of power which were being constituted in the dismembered Bosnia. Radio and TV stations from Belgrade and Zagreb competed in the territory of BiH for the interests of their states.

Media controlled by the ruling Serb Democratic Party (SDS) became centers of nationalistic indoctrination and warmongering cries. The first alternative newspapers appeared in northern parts of today's Republika Srpska (Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Doboj) only with the signing of the Dayton Agreement. In the area of the so-called Herceg Bosna, a territory controlled by Croats in the BiH Federation, there existed only media of one political option, the one of the ruling Croat Democratic Union (HDZ). In territories controlled by the government in Sarajevo, the media were more liberal. In large cities, in Sarajevo and Tuzla especially, critical media of an independent orientation developed. However, the most influential medium – the state RTV – was under the influence of the government in Sarajevo and the ruling Bosniak-Moslem Democratic Action Party (SDA).

A total of 272 active media saw the end of the war in BiH. In the BiH Federation there were 203, and in the Republika Srpska 69. In March 1997 their number was 490 (in the Republika Srpska 220, and in the BiH Federation 270). The media expansion was stimulated by the liberal conditions for founding media, anarchy in the frequency spectrum, but also by significant support given by foreign donors to independent, alternative and opposition journalism.

The war left big consequences both on the media and on journalists. Three separate media systems were established, under the influence of the national parties (one in the Republika Srpska, and two – Bosniak and Croat – in the BiH Federation), which was a consequence of the national, political and territorial divisions in BiH. Used to being an instrument of propaganda for "their side" in the war, it took journalists a long time in the peace to get used to their job being to inform, educate and entertain. For months after the end of armed clashes, many media could not free themselves of inflammatory vocabulary and accept the role intended for them by the peace: to be a factor of establishing trust and spreading the spirit of tolerance. Serb RTV excelled in this, without equal.

* In the BiH Federation there are 105 radio stations, 39 TV stations, 105 newspapers and reviews, and six news agencies. In the Republika Srpska there are 64 radio stations, 20 TV stations, 33 newspapers, and five news agencies. These figures include the networks of Serb RTV (SRT) Banja Luka, RTV BiH Sarajevo, Radio FERN Sarajevo, TV OBN Sarajevo. Radio stations operated by the multinational forces of SFOR are not included. (Data from July 1998, Media Plan documentation center)

With the start of the 1996 election campaign, the media situation somewhat changed in some parts of BiH. Relatively most significant progress was made in the Republika Srpska, in which the totalitarian media situation was violated by the appearance of several alternative papers critical of the authorities (Alternativa, Novi prelom, Panorama). Private TV and radio stations were also founded. However, in the beginning they avoided dealing with political issues and did not develop news programs. The start of pluralization in part of the RS media space was a result of pressure from the international community, but also of courage of individual journalists.

Media pluralization in the BiH Federation had a more favorable start. Liberal media which survived or were launched during the war, such as *Oslobodjenje*, *Dani*, *Slobodna Bosna*, *Studio 99*, *Zetel* and some others, significantly articulated a democratic environment in the public already in the first months of peace.

However, state RTV networks still had crucial influence on public opinion in the phase of the 1996 and 1997 election activities. They are: RTV BiH (Sarajevo), Serb RTV (Pale – Banja Luka), Croat Radio Herceg Bosna (Mostar), as well as RTV stations in the neighboring states of Yugoslavia and Croatia, which cover Bosnia-Herzegovina well. The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and other international factors succeeded partly in putting pressure on Sarajevo and Pale, and ensuring equitable representation in their programs of parties that ran in the elections. However, in news, documentary and call-in broadcasts, especially those in which the editor's position is fully expressed, partiality in favor of the incumbent authorities and the ruling parties was unconcealed. Serb RTV excelled in this, as well as media controlled by the Croat Democratic Union, of which some media even refused to air required OSCE messages.

The power or the helplessness of the international factors were evident. Many analyses show that media in BiH had little influence on how voters voted in 1996 and 1997, regardless of whether opposition stances or other political views were able to reach them. Fear and mistrust, which the ruling parties successfully manipulated, decided the outcome of the polls even before the election campaign began.

Media monitors and analysts spotted a lot of unprofessional conduct and manipulation with information, and presented this to the public. The most characteristic among them were: so-called negative selection of information, changing the sense of information, usage of a small number of sources or information and quoting only state and official sources, giving comments before giving information, pronouncing judgment without arguments, inflammatory vocabulary.

Media professionalism is an important issue in media development and promotion of political culture and culture of communication in general. According to Media Plan's sources, more than three million German marks was invested in educating media staff in BiH in 1996, and in 1997 that figure at least tripled. However, education was unorganized, motivated first of all by the elections, so it did not yield results equal to the invested resources.

Education remains the main direction of the media development strategy. However, a cloud of a terrifying business crisis has in the meantime appeared in the media skies over Bosnia. Used to being supported by donations, most media are disoriented on the media market. This so-called market is still not ruled by real economic laws. Almost no one can support themselves from newspaper sale revenue and advertisements, and even state RTV networks are living miserably without enough money. People who head media know little about media management and marketing. A well-organized system of press distribution in the entire BiH does not exist yet, and some environments are still closed to "politically unfitting newspapers" or newspapers "from the other entity." A particular problem is disrespect towards intellectual property (copyrights) in television and radio programs. It is characteristic that the number of radio and TV stations keeps increasing (practically none have been closed so far), which shows the interest of the authorities and other political factors in their role. However, many newspapers are being extinguished or they are published irregularly. It may be said that the publishing of the three daily newspapers in the BiH Federation and two in the Republika Srpska has been stabilized.

BiH media have stepped deeply in the third year of peace. The situation in the field of the media began to change more significantly in mid-1997. The first radical steps were taken in the Republika Srpska. Due to destructive and anti-Dayton operation of Serb Radio Television, the international community's High Representative to BiH applied his powers. First SFOR intervened at the RTV transmitters to disable the propaganda apparatus from Pale, after which a new steering board for this RTV house was appointed and an international supervisor named with big powers aimed at launching the television's transition into a modern, politically independent public institution. At the same time major political changes took place in the Republika Srpska – part of former SDS supporters broke away from the party and formed a strong opposition bloc around President Biljana Plavšić, which was joined by parties of a socialist and social-democrat orientation. This bloc later obtained a small parliament majority, which was sufficient to form a new government. From that moment the media space in the Republika Srpska began to divide. State media and some local media (in the southeast) remained more or less loyal to the SDS. In an attempt to completely eliminate the influence of the Pale-based political line, the government in the summer of 1998 dismissed 16 directors of local radio stations owned by municipalities, and appointed its own commissioners. Although most of these media had a destructive nature, this government move was not favorably received by independent media and political circles. Still, it can be said that in general the process of media pluralization has been opened in the Republika Srpska.

At the same a certain stagnation in media development came about in the BiH Federation. The achieved level of media freedom was maintained, but few new and original media projects appeared. There was almost no progress achieved in the pluralization of media space in Croat-majority parts of the BiH Federation and in northwest Bosnia (in the Bihać region). Because it was inspiring inter-ethnic hatred, a TV station in the Croat part of Mostar stopped broadcasting news programs for a period of time because it refused to apologize to its viewers, which the OSCE insisted on.

The main problem that was at a standstill was the international community's request, pursuant to the Daytonian concept of BiH, for the transformation of state BiH Radio Television. This media organization is the descendent of former RTV Sarajevo, which was Bosnia-Herzegovina's own radio-television, but fell apart into three radio television stations during the war. Although it partly preserved its multi-ethnic staff composition, RTV BiH program still was more Bosniak than multi-ethnic. Unable to broker an agreement between the two political sides – Bosniak and Croat – on the fate of the radio television, the international community's High Representative exerted pressure on the BiH Presidency members to sign a memorandum on commencing the process of RTV BiH transition (the memorandum was not signed by the Serb representative, because his position is that television is exclusively in the jurisdiction of entities). A new steering board was appointed, and a director general and international supervisor named, who are supposed to ensure that the present RTV BiH will be transformed at the same time into a federation RTV and a joint RTV for the entire BiH. The founding of an RTV BiH corporation is also envisioned, to be made up of Serb RTV and Federation RTV. International mediators insist that the new RTV institutions should become public services, such as those in Europe, outside the influence of political parties and government interference.

Activities in drawing up new laws on the media and telecommunications have stopped, although a set of draft media laws had been prepared in the meantime by the European Institute for Media. In the absence of adequate legislation, the international community has resorted to founding an Independent Media Commission, composed of foreign experts, which passed a set of media rules and codes, as well as criteria for allocating frequencies. These regulations will be in effect until satisfactory domestic legislation is passed.

A phenomenon of the media situation in BiH is the increasing globalization of the media space through foreign radio and TV stations. TV OBN (Open Broadcast Network), founded and financed by several countries, and a radio network called FERN, sponsored by the OSCE, have been operating in BiH for three years now. Several foreign stations, which have broadcasts in the

local languages, have established production-emission networks with Bosnian-Herzegovinian local radio and TV stations. Radio Free Europe and Danish Radio have established networks with combined program from the head studio and local studios, and AIM (Alternative Information Network) has correspondents covering the entire region of the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, Deutsche Welle, the Voice of America – radio and TV, BBC, Radio Iran, and Belgrade-based Radio B 92 have contracts with local radio and TV stations which transmit their broadcasts. Except for Radio B 92 and Radio Iran, all other programs cover the entire BiH. The significance of this media structure in principle is that it breaks through media blockades and enables the audience to see and hear something that they cannot do through their local media, although some programs have a purely propaganda function. At the same time, this globalization of the media space, without positive regulations in the country, opens wide the doors to various kinds of media manipulation and some sort of media colonialism, which part of the media public in BiH fear. In that sense the conduct of Zagreb-based Croatian Television is characteristic. It transmits its program in BiH using BiH transmitters and frequencies, which are not its property and for which it does not have approval from the BiH authorities. The transmission of Serbian Television programs through SRT's network of transmitters is not legally regulated either.

Influential Media

There is no satisfactorily reliable research or information on the influential media in BiH. Media Plan, on the basis of its own analysis, available data on target groups, circulation of newspapers, and RTV signal reception, has produced a list of the most influential media in five centers in the Republika Srpska (Banja Luka, Bijeljina, Doboj, Prijedor and Pale), and in five centers in the BiH Federation (Sarajevo, Mostar, Zenica, Tuzla, Bihać). The survey we now publish is open to correction.

Republika Srpska

Banja Luka

Srpska radio-televizija (SRT) (Serb Radio Television), the state RTV network of the Republika Srpska, founded by the RS Assembly. Radio and television operation is regulated by the law. The station was under the direct influence of the ruling SDS party. Until 1997 it broadcast combined program from two studios – Banja Luka and Pale, but the editorial policy was decided in Pale. Due to destructive activity against the peace process, the international community's High Representative to BiH in 1997 asked SFOR to take over SRT transmitters. A new steering board was appointed and an international supervisor named. Since then SRT has been operating as a unified organization seated in Banja Luka. SRT covers the Republika Srpska and part of the BiH Federation with one TV and one radio program. Its own TV production mostly consists of news-documentary, sports and music programs. It takes over more complex programs from Serbian TV stations. Radio program has a standard character, such as state radio stations usually have. In May 1996 SRT started broadcasting a five-hour satellite TV program for the United States, Canada and Mexico.

International administrator:
Director:

Dragan Gašić
Andjelko Kozomara

TV editor-in-chief:
TV broadcasting channel:
Telephone:
Fax:
Address:

Nada Puvačić
12 VHF (Banja Luka)
(+381) 78 49 973
(+381) 78 49 973
Banski Dvor, Banja Luka

Radio editor-in-chief: Duško Oljača
Frequency: 92.7 MHz, 93.5 MHz, 95.9 MHz (Banja Luka)
Telephone: (+381) 78 41 421
Fax: (+381) 78 12 183
Address: Kralja Petra Karadjordjevića 129

BELL televizija Banja Luka (BELL Television Banja Luka), a private station, which commenced transmission in 1997, and whose output is mainly informative and entertainment programs. It transmits 18 to 20 hours of program daily.

Editor-in-chief: Zoran Lukić
Frequency: UHF 37
Address: Drvarska 21, Banja Luka
Telephone: (+381) 78 18 666
Fax: (+381) 78 18 220
(when calling from BiH the area code is 058)

Nezavisna televizija Banja Luka (Independent Television Banja Luka), began transmitting on the eve of the 1996 elections, and was founded by six private organizations. Its house output consists of news programs, documentaries, interviews with figures who have different political views. It has its own news broadcast called Novosti, and in the time slot in which it once used to carry the main newscast of TV Serbia, it now broadcasts reportages. Its program favors political parties that constitute Milorad Dodik's new government. Its signal covers Banja Luka.

Editor-in-chief: Zoran Kalinić
Address: Kralja Petra 103, Banja Luka
Frequency: 23 UHF
Tel: (+381) 78 17 899
Fax: (+381) 78 17 899
(when calling from BiH the area code is 058)

TV Simić, a private TV station, very watchable because of its advertising, music and sport recordings, and its reports on local non-political topics, although sometimes it is inclined towards hardline national options. It carries Serbian TV's evening news.

Editor-in-chief: Vladimir Simić
Address: Veselina Masleše 1, Banja Luka
Frequency: 47 UHF
Tel: (+381) 78 17 866
Fax: (+381) 78 17 866
(when calling from BiH the area code is 058)

Nezavisni radio Banja Luka (Independent Radio Banja Luka), a private station which began transmission in 1997, and transmits all day. It follows the orientation of its founder – Nezavisna TV Banja Luka. Its signal covers the city of Banja Luka.

Editor-in-chief: Sanela Stijaković
Frequency: 107.2 MHz
Address: Banja Luka, Kralja Petra 103
Tel: (+381) 78 17 898
Fax: (+381) 78 17 899
(when calling from BiH the area code is 058)

NES radio, a private station owned by Nezavisne novine. It is known as the first radio station that started broadcasting music coming from the entire territory of the former Yugoslavia. It

carries the Voice of America program. It is open to all political options, but it supports the political options of parties that constitute Milorad Dodik's government. It gives quite a lot of air time to topics from the BiH Federation and cooperates with Federation radio stations.

Editor-in-chief: Željko Kopanja
Address: Veselina Masleše 1 / 10
Frequency: 99.9 MHz
Telephone: (+381) 78 17 088
Fax: (+381) 78 11 628

(when calling from BiH the area code is 058)

Radio Sv. Georgije (St. George Radio), a radio station owned by Serbs who fled Croatia and Banja Luka-based PP Koridor. It has a national-religious concept. It produces its own news program and exclusively Serb music.

Editor-in-chief: Ljupko Mladjenović
Frequency: 99 MHz
Address: Džinićeva 6, Banja Luka
Telephone: (+381) 78 32 347
Fax: (+381) 78 32 347

(when calling from BiH the area code is 058)

"Glas srpski" (Serb Voice), a news-political paper for the area of the Republika Srpska, operating within a company of the same name. It was founded by the Republika Srpska National Assembly. The paper first came out in 1993 (descendent of the paper Glas from 1994). It is printed in Cyrillic in the Serb language. Until 1997 it promoted the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) policy, and now it expresses the new government's position.

Editor-in-chief: Tomo Marić
Address: Veselina Masleše 28, Banja Luka
Tel: (+381) 78 12-844
Fax: (+381) 78 11-759

(when calling from BiH the area code is 058)

Nezavisne novine (Independent Paper), Banja Luka, a private paper with two separate editions: weekly review **Nezavisne novine** and **Dnevne nezavisne novine** (Daily Independent Paper). It first came out in 1996. It supports political parties that replaced the SDS in 1997. It is deeply involved in investigating various social deviations and scandals. It cooperates with media from the BiH Federation.

Editor-in-chief: Željko Kopanja
Address: Veselina Masleše 1, Banja Luka
Tel: (+381) 78 11-604
Fax: (+381) 78 11-628

(when calling from BiH the area code is 058)

REPORTER, a bi-weekly private informative magazine with an independent orientation, which often opens taboo topics in the RS. It cooperates with media from the BiH Federation, and has its own distribution in the entire BiH.

Editor-in-chief: Perica Vučinić
Address: Mladena Stojanovića 7
Telephone: (+381) 78 457 31
Fax: (+381) 78 457 92

(when calling from BiH the area code is 058)

Bijeljina

Panorama, a private informative-political paper, published every 15 days. The first issue came out in 1996. The paper has an independent orientation, and is distributed in Bijeljina and northwest Bosnia. It cooperates with media in the BiH Federation.

Editor-in-chief: Slobodan Marković
Address: Braće Subotića 3, Bijeljina
Telephone: (+381) 76 43 324
Fax: (+381) 76 43 324
(when calling from BiH the area code is 056)

Extra magazin (Extra Magazine), a private paper with an alternative orientation. It is critical towards various deviations and scandals. The Ministry of Information banned the paper and erased it from the registry of public papers in March 1995. The RS Supreme Court overruled the Ministry's decision in August 1995.

Editor-in-chief: Jovica Petković
Address: Laze Lazarevića 8, Bijeljina
Telephone: (+381) 76 457 97
Fax: (+381) 76 433 24
(when calling from BiH the area code is 056)

PAN radio Bijeljina, a private radio station with the biggest reception in the region, open to all political options. It carries the Voice of America program, and cooperates with media in the BiH Federation.

Editor-in-chief: Radmila Žigić
Frequency: 103 MHz
Address: Braće Subotića 3, Bijeljina
Telephone: (+381) 76 43 324
Fax: (+381) 76 43 324
(when calling from BiH the area code is 056)

Prijedor

Radio FENIX, a private radio station. It transmits its own news program and folk music. It has a positive stand towards the incumbent local authorities. Its signal covers more area than any other local radio station in Prijedor.

Editor-in-chief: Marinko Sadžak
Frequency: 88.7 MHz
Address: Kralja Petra I Oslobodioca 17, Prijedor
Telephone: (+381) 79 12 021
Fax: (+381) 79 12 021
(when calling from BiH the area code is 059)

Doboj

Srpski radio Doboj (Serb Radio Doboj), a local radio station of mixed ownership. The RS Government on the eve of the 1998 elections dismissed the director and appointed a government commissioner. Before that, the program was supportive of the SDS. It has a developed news program and its own music production. It started broadcasting in 1967. It carries Serb Radio's news program. It covers Doboj and its surroundings.

Editor-in-chief: no information
Frequency: 92 MHz
Address: Cara Lazara 6, Doboj

Telephone: (+381) 74 42 158
Fax: (+381) 74 41 401
(when calling from BiH the area code is 054)

Nova Alternativa (Alternative), Doboj, a private informative paper, issued every 15 days. It was opposed to the local authorities and the ruling SDS, due to which it was twice the target of bomb attacks in 1998 when it stopped publishing. The paper is open to different opinions. It is distributed in Doboj and some other parts of the Republika Srpska. It cooperates with media in the BiH Federation.

Editor-in-chief: Pavle Stanišić
Address: Stefana Prvovenčanog 25, Doboj
Telephone: (+381) 74 42 092
Fax: (+381) 74 42 092
(when calling from BiH the area code is 054)

Pale

Radio Sveti Jovan (Radio St. John), a private station, but founded with support from the Pale-based SDS authorities. It began output in July 1996, and transmits 24 hours a day, mainly music and program for Christian Orthodox believers, with a strong national charge. It does not have its own news program. Its network of eight transmitters covered most of the Republika Srpska and parts of the Federation. Milorad Dodik's Government in 1998 broke off a contract on giving it a number of frequencies free of charge and on using SRTV crew vehicles, which brought the station into an equal position with other radio stations.

Editor-in-chief: Dragan Stajčić
Frequency: 90.7 MHz (Sarajevo)
Address: Trifka Grabeža 117, Pale
Telephone: (+381) 71 786 504
Fax: (+381) 71 786 503
(when calling from BiH the area code is 051)

Kanal S (Channel S), a TV station that covers Pale and part of Sarajevo, founded after the transformation of Serb RTV and closing of the Pale studio. Information on the founder, ownership and staff is unavailable. There are some reports that the station was started after the usurpation of the Pale RTV center when the seat of Serb RTV was moved to Banja Luka. Most of the media staff is made up of people who once worked for the state RTV. The station program supports the SDS line in Pale.

Contact person: Srdjan Šekara
Frequency: 42 UHF
Telephone: (+381) 71 787 174
Fax: (+381) 71 787 174
(when calling from BiH the area code is 051)

BiH Federation

Bihać

Televizija Unsko-sanskog kantona (Una-Sana Canton Television), the cantonal public station. It began working in April 1996, and transmits five to seven hours of program daily. From time to time it carries TV BiH program. The ruling authorities and the Bosniak SDA party have influence on its editorial policy. A radio station of the same name has a similar character.

Editor-in-chief: Senad Ramić

Frequency: 38 and 41 UHF
Address: Dom kulture, Bihać
Tel: (+387) 77 332 141
Fax: (+387) 77 332 144

Mostar

Hrvatska televizija Mostar (Croat Television Mostar), (in the west side of the city), started up in July 1994. Of mixed ownership, the station reflects and promotes the views of the incumbent authorities and the ruling HDZ party. It stopped broadcasting news programs for a certain period because it refused to comply with the OSCE Media Experts Commission order to apologize for broadcasts which had a destructive influence on inter-ethnic relations in Mostar. It covers Mostar and part of western Herzegovina.

Editor-in-chief: Veselko Čerkez
Frequency: 57 UHF
Address: Smrčenjaci bb, Mostar
Tel: (+387) 88 321-194
Fax: (+387) 88 321-102

Televizija Mostar (Mostar Television), (in the east side of the city), the local public station, operates within RTV Mostar. It was founded by the public fund Slobodni Mostar (Free Mostar). The station came on air for the first time in September 1995, and has a developed news program. It carries OBN programs (it is one of the founders of the TVIN network, now called OBN). Despite being close to the authorities in the eastern part of the city, it has editorial independence. It covers Mostar and part of Herzegovina.

Editor-in-chief: Senad Efica
Frequency: 31 and 27 UHF
Address: Centar za kulturu, Rade Bitange bb, Mostar
Tel: (+387) 88 550-055
Fax: (+387) 88 551-147

Hrvatski radio Hercegbosna (Croat Radio Herceg Bosna), a public station seated in Mostar, founded by the Government of "Herceg Bosna" (an administrative arrangement that existed in the phase of constitution of the BiH Federation). It began broadcasting in 1993. During the war it built a network of transmitters and expanded signal reception to almost all areas inhabited by Croats. The station also carries Zagreb-based Croatian Radio programs. The ruling HDZ party has crucial influence on its program.

Editor-in-chief: Milan Vego
Frequency: 103.4 MHz (Mostar)
Address: Kralja Petra Krešimira 4, Mostar
Tel: (+387) 88 310 577
Fax: (+387) 88 310 578

Hrvatska radio postaja Mostar (Croat Radio Station Mostar), (in the west part of the city), a local public station, founded by the Municipal Council of Mostar (western part). It started up in 1969, as the local radio station of the then united Mostar. The station, being located in the west side of the city, came under Bosnian Croat control when the conflict between Bosniaks and Croats divided the city. It is under HDZ influence.

Editor-in-chief: Veselko Čerkez
Frequency: 100.9 MHz and 97.9 MHz
Address: Dubrovačka 4, Mostar
Tel: (+387) 88 312-342

Fax:

(+387) 88 311-594

Omladinski radio X (Youth Radio X), Mostar, a local station started within the Mostar Youth Center which was donated to Mostar by the European Union. Most of its program is intended for young people. The radio is trying to attract listeners from both parts of Mostar. It participates in many projects organized jointly in the BiH Federation and the RS. It has an independent editorial orientation, and covers the city of Mostar.

Editor-in-chief:

Faruk Kajtaz

Frequency:

105 MHz

Address:

Rade Bitange 13, Mostar

Tel:

(+387) 88 551-109

Fax:

(+387) 88 551-199

Radio Mostar (in the eastern part of the city), a local public station, operating within RTV Mostar. It came on air for the first time in September 1992. Although relatively close to the ruling Bosniak structures, the station has a significant degree of editorial independence. It carries the main news programs of Radio BiH and several foreign radio stations that broadcast in the local language. It covers Mostar and part of Herzegovina.

Editor-in-chief:

Senad Efica

Frequency:

92.3 MHz

Address:

Rade Bitange bb, Mostar

Tel:

(+387) 88 550-055

Fax:

(+387) 88 551-147

Sarajevo

Radio-televizija Bosne i Hercegovine (Radio Television of Bosnia-Herzegovina), (before the war called RTV Sarajevo), a public enterprise, founded by the pre-war Assembly of the BiH Republic. The enterprise's work is regulated by the law. It began transformation under the Dayton Constitution of BiH, with a new steering board appointed and a supervisor named by the international community's High Representative. The aim is to transform part of the station into a federal RTV, and another part into a joint public radio station of both entities. Both RTV stations are supposed to operate without being influenced by political parties, pursuant to European media standards. Until the beginning of transformation, this station mostly covered territories controlled by Bosniak authorities and it was under the influence of political options in the Bosniak people. RTV BiH is supposed to support itself through advertising revenues and viewer tax, but this income was sharply reduced during and after the war. Its production and transmission facilities were badly damaged during the war, but broadcasting was not interrupted.

International supervisor: Tomaž Perovič

Director general: Mirsad Purivatra

Televizija BiH (BiH Television), made its first news broadcast on July 25, 1961, and its own newscast on February 5, 1971. It produces all types of program, and was celebrated for its coverage of the 1984 Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo (together with other RTV centers from the former Yugoslavia). Before the war it broadcast on two networks, but now is carried on one, at an average of 15 hours daily. In 1996 it began broadcasting via satellite for Europe, the Middle East and North Africa.

News editor:

Senad Kamenica

Address:

Bulevar Meše Selimovića 46, Sarajevo

Frequency:

8 VHF, 57 UHF (Sarajevo)

Telephone:

(+387) 71 461-101

Fax:

(+387) 71 461-537

Radio BiH, the oldest radio station in Bosnia-Herzegovina, having commenced transmission on April 10, 1945. It grew to an all-day schedule in 1961. Before the war it, like its TV counterpart, broadcast on two networks (dual coverage on UKT/FM and ST), and was reduced to one during and after the war. On medium wave it covers the greater part of the former Yugoslavia and parts of Europe. It produces all kinds of programs, including its own music recordings.

Editor-in-chief:

Esad Cerović

Frequency:

612 KHz, 93.1 MHz (Sarajevo)

Address:

Bulevar Meše Selimovića 46, Sarajevo

Telephone:

(+387) 71 461-101

Fax:

(+387) 71 455-140

OBN, Open Broadcast Network (formerly TVIN/OTM), a television network with production centers in Sarajevo and Banja Luka. It was founded by the international community in 1996, with the help of funding from several donor countries, with the goal of creating a plural and independent medium in BiH and breaking through the communication blockade. Its founders intend that it should become in time the main commercial BiH TV network. Now it is best known for its news program TV INFO.

Operations director:

Gabrijel Vukadin

News editor:

Jadranko Katana

Frequency:

60 UHF

Address:

Bulevar Meše Selimovića 19, Sarajevo

Telephone:

(+387) 71 460-550

Fax:

(+387) 71 460-547

Nezavisna televizija "Hayat" Sarajevo (Independent Television "Hayat" Sarajevo), a private commercial station founded at the beginning of 1992. It puts emphasis on affirming Bosniak-Moslem culture and tradition, but its diversity of program attracts all social and national categories of the population. It broadcasts 17 hours of program daily, mostly documentary, entertainment, sport and film programs. It also relays the Voice of America.

Editor-in-chief:

Elvir Švrakić

Frequency:

UHF 58, VHF 10

Address:

A. Šahinagića 14, Sarajevo

Tel:

(+387) 71 663-601

Fax:

(+387) 71 663-601

NTV Studio "99", has been broadcasting since 1995, and has developed news-documentary programs: informative program "Oko 22", news, interviews conducted by the editor-in-chief. It has a critical position towards the incumbent authorities, and strongly stands for the idea of a civic, united and multinational BiH.

Editor-in-chief:

Adil Kulenović

Frequency:

UHF 56

Address:

SKC Skenderija, Terezije bb

Tel:

(+387) 71 664-550

Fax:

(+387) 71 664-551

FERN, a radio network established with the help of the Swiss Government and the OSCE. Its aim is a free flow of impartial information during the implementation of the Dayton Agreement and preparation for elections. An idea exists to privatize the radio station after the expiry of the OSCE's mandate in BiH and to constitute it as a Bosnian-foreign enterprise. It covers about 60 percent of BiH territory.

Editor-in-chief:
Frequency: 94.5 FM, 103.3 FM (Sarajevo)
Address: Mula Mustafe Bašeskije 6, Sarajevo
Telephone: (+387) 71 668 052
Fax: (+387) 71 668-059

MUZIČKI RADIO M (Music Radio M), the first commercial radio station, which began broadcasting in 1990 as the first of its kind in BiH. It had an exclusively music and commercial character to begin with, but now broadcasts local service information, and short newscasts. It is well known for its humanitarian and entertainment campaigns.

Editor-in-chief: Mirsad Ibrić
Frequency: 98.7 MHz
Address: Fra Andjela Zvizdovića 7/I, Sarajevo
Tel: (+387) 71 666 822
Fax: (+387) 71 666 628

Nezavisni radio Studio 99 Sarajevo (Independent Radio Studio 99 Sarajevo), part of the private enterprise Studio 99. It has been transmitting an all-day schedule since November 1991. It is especially known for its contact programs with listeners who phone in. The studio has pioneered independent and free journalism in BiH. Its messages during the war inspired a group of Sarajevo intellectuals to form the association "Krug 99" (Circle 99). The radio carries transmissions from Free Europe and RFI.

Editor-in-chief: Adil Kulenović
Frequency: 99.8 MHz
Address: SKC Skenderija, Terezije bb, Sarajevo
Tel: (+387) 71 664-550
Fax: (+387) 71 664-551

Radio Stari grad (Old Town Radio), a station of mixed ownership. It has developed news, call-in, and entertainment-recreation programs all day long. It has an independent editorial orientation, and covers most of Sarajevo. It carries Bosnian language services of Deutsche Welle, the Voice of America and Free Europe.

Editor-in-chief: Adnan Osmanagić
Address: Zelenih beretki 4/V, Sarajevo
Frequency: 102.8 MHz
Telephone: (+387) 71 442-565
Fax: (+387) 71 442-539

Radio Hayat, Sarajevo, a Bosnian-Moslem radio, with a pronounced national and religious character of program. It began working in 1990 and transmits 24 hours a day. It is of private ownership, and is developing a network of stations of the same name in Bosniak-majority areas of the BiH Federation.

Editor-in-chief: Mahir Žiško
Address: G. Fakufska 6, Sarajevo
Frequency: FM 101.7 MHz
Telephone: (+387) 71 443 123
Fax: (+387) 71 443 877

Radio postaja "Vrhbosna" Sarajevo (Radio Station "Vrhbosna" Sarajevo), started up at the end of December 1994, and is owned by "Napredak", the cultural association of Croats in Sarajevo. It promotes the culture and heritage of the Croat people, but is also concerned with multi-ethnicity, and respecting the civil principles of society. Its listeners include all social and

national categories, mainly of the middle generation. It transmits the main programs of Croatian Radio, Radio Vatican, and the Voice of America in the Croatian language.

Editor-in-chief: Vladimir Bilić
Frequency: 100.3 MHz
Address: Maršala Tita 56, Sarajevo
Tel: (+387) 71 441-922
Fax: (+387) 71 441-921

"Dani" (Days), an independent private Bosnian-Herzegovinian news magazine. It comes out twice a month in Sarajevo. It continues the tradition of the magazine "Naši dani" (Our Days) which was published before the war, and its first issue under the new title (and new ownership) came out in September 1992. It is critical of the ruling parties and the state institutions, and promotes civic and civilized social standards. It cooperates with media in the Republika Srpska.

Editor-in-chief: Senad Pećanin
Address: Skenderija 31/A, Sarajevo
Tel: (+387) 71 649-943
Fax: (+387) 71 651-789

"Dnevni avaz" (Daily Voice), the youngest news-political daily paper in the Federation, and is privately owned, but its outlook is close to the ruling Bosniak SDA party. The same house produces a weekly English language version of the paper, and several other reviews.

Editor-in-chief: Mensur Osmović
Address: Kemala Kapetanovića 17, Sarajevo
Tel: (+387) 71 643 873
Fax: (+387) 71 658 940

"Hrvatska riječ" (Croat Word), comes out weekly in Sarajevo, and is a news-political paper close in orientation to the HDZ, whose views it carries.

Editor-in-chief: Ana Havel
Address: Maršala Tita 9a/IV, Sarajevo
Tel: (+387) 71 470 002
Fax: (+387) 71 444 621

"Ljiljan" (Lily), a Bosnian-Herzegovinian news-political magazine, issued weekly in Sarajevo, and of private ownership. It earlier carried the sub-title "national weekly paper." Although the sub-title was erased and the paper's design and journalistic concept changed, it is still recognizable as a medium of the Bosniak people presenting the positions of the most influential SDA party. It has strong influence in Bosniak institutions and among refugees living abroad.

Editor-in-chief: Ismet Veladžić
Address: Ferhadija 2, Sarajevo
Tel: (+387) 71 442-993
Fax: (+387) 71 442-994

"Oslobodjenje" (Liberation), the oldest daily in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It first came out in Donja Trnava on August 30, 1943, and is independent, although the change in ownership which started before the war was not fully accomplished. It stands for civic, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural values. Its infrastructure was almost completely destroyed at the beginning of the war, but it continued to appear every day in Sarajevo under siege. It has received many international awards.

Editor-in-chief: Mehmed Halilović
Address: Branilaca grada 40, Sarajevo
Telephone: (+387) 71 205-491

Fax:

(+387) 71 442-403

"Slobodna Bosna" (Free Bosnia), a news-political magazine, of independent orientation, which comes out once a week in Sarajevo. It is privately owned, and the first issue came out in September 1995. It is known as a radical critic of the governing parties and powerful individuals, and publishes research and commentary into social issues.

Editor-in-chief:

Senad Avdić

Address:

Muhameda Kantardžića 3, Sarajevo

Tel:

(+387) 71 444-041

Fax:

(+387) 71 444-895

"Večernje novine" (Evening Paper), a news-political daily, of independent orientation. Its ownership finished changing before the war. It has separate issues for the various cantons in the Federation and an issue for the Republika Srpska.

Editor-in-chief:

Sead Demirović

Address:

Prušćakova 13, Sarajevo

Telephone:

(+387) 71 664-874

Fax:

(+387) 71 664-875

Mostar

Hrvatska televizija Herceg Bosna (Croat Television Herceg Bosna), Mostar, a television station under the influence of the ruling HDZ. Its schedule combines programs from Croatian TV (Zagreb), and for transmission it uses a newly-build network or the old network of transmitters of RTV BiH. It covers almost all areas of BiH where there is a Croat majority.

Editor-in-chief:

Branko Čolak

Address:

Biskupa Čule 9/III, Mostar

Frequency:

39 UHF

Telephone:

(+387) 88 322 450

Fax:

(+387) 88 322 458

Tuzla

Televizija Tuzla (Tuzla Television), the local public station. In 1996 it separated from a joint RTV enterprise and is now in the phase of ownership transformation (privatization). It began transmitting in February 1994, and produces various informative programs. Its editorial stance reveals closeness of outlook to the governing UBSD party, winner of the 1990 and 1997 local elections in the town. It promotes a civic society, and is a member of the OBN television network.

Editor-in-chief:

Mirela Čanović

Frequency:

UHF 48

Address:

2 oktobar br. 1

Tel:

(+387) 75 251 055

Fax:

(+387) 75 251 450

Televizija Tuzlansko-podrinjskog kantona (TVTPK) (Tuzla-Podrinje Canton Television), the public cantonal station, which produces various informative programs and is widely watched. Its editorial stance is close to that of the cantonal authorities and the ruling SDA party.

Editor-in-chief:

Kasim Softić

Frequency:

25 UHF

Address:

SLATINA 2/9, Tuzla

Tel:

(+387) 75 282 399

Fax: (+387) 75 290 610

Radio KAMELEON (Radio Chameleon), a local private commercial station. It started broadcasting in December 1992, and is known for its lively call-in programs and music programs attractive to young people. It does not produce its own news programs, but borrows the output of Deutsche Welle, the Voice of America, and Free Europe.

Editor-in-chief: Biljana Tomić - Skoković
Frequency: 102.7 MHz
Address: Dr. Milana Jovanovića 6
Tel: (+387) 75 231-237
Fax: (+387) 75 238-247

Radio Tuzla, the local public station, founded by the Tuzla municipality. Until 1996 is operated within the public enterprise RTV Tuzla, and now is an independent enterprise of mixed ownership. It is close in outlook to the ruling UBSD party and the local authorities in the town of Tuzla. It is open to various political views, and promotes civic principles, multi-ethnicity, and coexistence. It is the oldest local radio station in BiH.

Editor-in-chief: Hajrudin Selesković
Frequency: MW 774 KHz, FM 88 and 94 MHz
Address: Đure Đakovića 4, Tuzla
Tel: (+387) 75 222-777
Fax: (+387) 75 236-666

Front slobode (Freedom Front), Tuzla, a fortnightly paper of mixed ownership. It has a lengthy tradition (having been founded in 1943). It is deeply concerned in promoting civic principles and coexistence in BiH.

Editor-in-chief: Sinan Alić
Address: Džafer mahala 15, Tuzla
Telephone: (+387) 75 251 520
Fax: (+387) 75 251 521

Zenica

Nezavisna televizija "ZETEL" Zenica (Independent Television "ZETEL" Zenica), a private commercial station of independent orientation, which started transmission in January 1992. Its output is mainly news-documentary, educational and music programs, and foreign films. It is a member of the OBN television network (formerly TVIN/OTN).

Editor-in-chief: Taib Bajramović
Frequency: UHF 55
Address: Stara čaršija bb, Zenica
Tel: (+387) 72 410-552
Fax: (+387) 72 417-317

Televizija Zenica (Television Zenica), began transmitting in November 1995, and constitutes part of the public Zenica RTV. Founded by the municipality of Zenica, it is close to the local government (SDA).

Editor-in-chief: Medina Delibašić
Frequency: UHF 40
Address: Islambegovića put 5a, Zenica
Tel: (+387) 72 416 341
Fax: (+387) 72 418 363

Radio Zenica, Zenica, the local public station, founded by the Zenica municipality. Of mixed state and private ownership, it has been transmitting since 1969. It has various news and documentary programs, call-in shows and entertainment programs. The station is close to the incumbent authorities

Editor-in-chief:	Spahija Kozlić
Address:	Muhameda S. Serdarevića 23, Zenica
Frequency:	FM 93.5 MHz, MW 567 KHz
Telephone:	(+387) 72 412 423
Fax:	(+387) 72 22 022

Naša riječ (Our Word), Zenica, a weekly news-political paper, which first came out in 1956. Of mixed private and state ownership, it is distributed throughout the Zenica-Doboj Canton.

Editor-in-chief:	Sajto Čehović
Address:	Muhameda S. Serdarevića 23, Zenica
Telephone:	(+387) 72 36 024
Fax:	(+387) 72 23 055

Adresar

Media Plan – a note about ourselves

Media Plan is the first specialized organization for media reconstruction and development to have been founded in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Our goal is supporting the BiH media in the promotion of free speech, open public information and respect for human rights. A priority is the education of media personnel with the goal of enabling them to function in an open and competitive media market.

We work with media and communications experts from the press, television, radio, electronic, computer and graphic technologies, media management and marketing, as well as experts in authors' rights, and in the technicalities of legal and financial support to media development.

The organization has three separate parts - Media Plan: Institute for Media Development and Research; Media Plan - Commercial Prima; and the News Agency SAFAX.

The Institute for Media Development and Research - MEDIA PLAN has since 1995 collected data about media in Bosnia and Herzegovina, providing various organizations with analyses of the media field. Our programs are:

Gathering information about new technologies, innovations and trends.

- ◇ Training media personnel.
- ◇ Public opinion polling.
- ◇ Working as consultants to the media.

MEDIA PLAN Prima specializes in polling audiences and conducting public opinion polls, as well as media market consultancy. Our programs are:

- ◇ Creating projects involving media reconstruction and development.
- ◇ Undertaking audience and market studies for radio, television and print.
- ◇ Offering a publishing service.

Sarajevo Fax (SAFAX) is the news agency of MEDIA PLAN. It specializes in information about the reconstruction and development of Bosnia, human rights and freedoms, and media news. Current activities include:

- ◇ Fourteen-night service information about the media: 'Media News' - information about new media, media laws, media projects, media research.
- ◇ RENS - the Radio Exchange Network Service: a Audio service for the exchange of various programs and news of local radio stations. The aim is the free passage of information between local stations, and contact between stations in both entities. Developing programs include producing an audio information service which will be widely available on the network.
- ◇ "Naše šanse" weekly service for B&H refugees.
- ◇ Occasional news services for local media.

Project of the year

◇ School of journalism in Sarajevo

The School of Journalism in Sarajevo will follow a program encompassing general journalistic standards with special emphasis on journalist ethics, which will contribute to the further democratization and pluralization of the media in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It will have a laboratory for the press, radio, TV and access to the Internet.

Each generation school year will last nine months (three full working days per week)

The first three generations will be young journalists already engaged with media organizations.

Media Plan's work covers all territory of B&H. It has centers in Sarajevo and Banja Luka. Since 1996 Media Plan has been a partner in the European Partnership for Public Communication (Brussels)

Information about Media Plan is available from:

B&H

Sarajevo

Sarajevo

MEDIA PLAN INSTITUT

Patriotske lige 30/III(Arhitektonski fakultet),

71000 Sarajevo

Tel/fax:(++387 71) 206 542

213 078

<http://www.mp-institut.com/>

safax-mp@bih.net.ba

Banja Luka:

MEDIA PLAN - Center for media development and cooperation ,

Braće Mažar 74, 78000 Banja Luka,
Tel/Fax: (++381 78) 17 943

Mostar:

Helsinki Committee
Mostar. Šantićeva, 88000 Mostar
Tel: : (++387 88) 551 518

Croatia / Split

Stina, Independent Press Agency, Šetalište Bačvice 10/I, 21000 Split, Croatia
Tel/Fax (++387 21) 49 956

SR Yugoslavia /Belgrade

Argument, Agency for Applied Sociological and Political Research, Balkanska 12, 11000
Belgrade, SR Yugoslavia
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Fax: 656 105

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